The
FORUM
For September, 1918

THE WHEAT FARMERS' DILEMMA

We Must Have Wheat—At $2.20 a Bushel Will It Go on the Table or in the Trough?

By HON. THOMAS P. GORE
[U. S. SENATOR FOR OKLAHOMA]

The vital food question of wheat backs up to the farmer. Is he treated with justice, in view of a restricted market price, forced to buy in an unrestricted market? The able Senator from the wheat belt of the West takes up the question for the FORUM.

THE price of the wheat should bear some just and reasonable relation to the price of those things which he must buy with the proceeds of his wheat. This is the farmer's point of view. The President has stated the farmer's side with characteristic clearness. In his annual message last December he declared that the farmers complain with justice that they are obliged to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. What is the way out of the dilemma described by the President ?

First, to remove all restrictions whatever upon the price of wheat.

Second, to advance the fixed price of wheat to correspond with the general level of advanced prices.

Third, to reduce the prices of all other articles to correspond with the reduced price of wheat.

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I shall merely mention a fourth which would be a compromise between the second and the third, by advancing the price of wheat and reducing the prices of other articles until they meet upon a common level.

The application of the first remedy would require a reversal of our policy and a retracing of our steps. I am not certain that we have the power even if we had the disposition to do this. The wheat market has been dismantled by the Government and if it were a legislative possibility I am not sure that it would be a commercial possibility to restore it overnight. If this could be done it would be the simplest and best solution.

There are those who insist that the general level of prices, particularly upon articles purchased by the farmers, should be so reduced as to correspond with the fixed price upon wheat. If this were a legal and economic possibility, it might, indeed, restore the ratio between the price of wheat and the general range of prices. Should we disturb all prices and all economic relations merely in order to attempt with or without success to readjust them? Wheat was selling at three dollars a bushel in Minneapolis the day the Government broke the price. That was the ratio between supply and demand. The Government reduced the price to $2.17 at Minneapolis.

It is obvious that a horizontal or a universal reduction of all prices to meet this reduction of wheat would be unavailing so far as domestic commerce is concerned. We would merely have our pains for our labor in operating this treadmill and would be fortunate, indeed, if we escaped with so light a retribution. We could make a general reduction in the prices of all domestic articles and could apply these prices to exports. We could not apply this general or horizontal reduction to the prices of imports. We could sell our own products to the Allies and to neutrals at the reduced prices but we would be obliged to continue purchases from them at market prices or rather at war prices.

We are now obliging our farmers to take less for their wheat than it is worth, and are supplying wheat to the Allies

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and perhaps in limited quantities to neutrals at the reduced figure.

FOREIGN MARKETS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR REDUCTIONS

I AM informed that neutrals purchase wheat from us upon this lower level and sell it to their own people at famine figures. We are supplying millions' worth of wheat to foreign countries at an artificially low price and are purchasing millions' worth of goods from them at war prices. And to make it worse, some of the neutral countries are manipulating foreign exchanges so as to double their advantage and double our disadvantage. This is transfusion with a vengeance.

The President made the point, however, in his veto message that if we advanced the price of wheat here it would oblige the Allies to purchase wheat at the advanced price. This is undoubtedly true unless some other or better method could be found for obviating the loss. Let me say once for all that if it be necessary to the winning of the war for us to supply the Allies with wheat at $2.20 per bushel, then that should be done and will be done by the unanimous voice and vote of the American people. The Government of the United States, however, should assume and should absorb the loss. The people of the United States in their public capacity should assume that loss and should not visit it upon the wheat producers in their capacity as private citizens. The United States ought to levy taxes and sell bonds enough to defray the necessary expenses of this war. A good deal of vainglory has been indulged in in this country on the action of the Food Administration in reducing the price of flour to $10.50 per barrel. Flour made in England from American wheat sells at the mill door for $7.50 per barrel. It may be somewhat inferior to American flour, but that is not the point. The Government of Great Britain appropriated two hundred million dollars to compensate the millers against loss in selling flour at $7.50 per barrel. The loss is, as it should be, assumed and absorbed by the people of Great Britain in their sovereign capacity. It is not visited upon the millers in their

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private capacity. The difference should be charged up against the Government as an item of war expense and should not be levied as a special tribute or forced contribution upon the wheat farmers. In order to supply the Allies with a relatively small quantity of wheat at a reduced price, it is neither necessary nor just to subject the farmers to a loss of from three hundred to six hundred million dollars on their entire crop.

That the farmer is taking a heavy loss on wheat is not open to controversy.. There is a pretty definite historic ratio between wheat on the one hand and corn, rye, barley, and oats on the other. Based on this ratio, an expert recently computed that the price of wheat should be approximately $2.77 at Chicago. The measure recently passed by Congress and vetoed by the President proposed to make the price at Chicago $2.60. Congress undertook to apply in a limited measure the remedy of advancing the price of wheat to correspond with the general level of other prices. We must adopt one of two remedies, either to advance the price of wheat or to reduce the general range of prices. Congress preferred the former method. Nothing has been done to apply the other method in the eight months that have come and gone since the President declared that the farmers complained with justice of the existing situation. When the president made that declaration in December last, he, of course, had in mind the price of wheat which the farmer was then obliged to take and the price of other articles which he was then obliged to buy.

WHEAT THE ONLY ARTICLE THAT HAS NOT ADVANCED

WHEAT is perhaps the only article in the United States the price of which has not advanced during this interval. The farmer pays a higher price for everything now than he paid in December. He receives the same price for wheat. The Government fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1917 at $2.20 per bushel. The Government also fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1918 at $2.20 per bushel.

If the price fixed by the Government upon wheat for 1917

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was not too high, then the price fixed by the Government on wheat for 1918 is not high enough; or if the price of wheat fixed by the Government for 1918 is high enough, then the price fixed for 1917 was too high. I say this because the cost of producing wheat in 1918 was much greater than in 1917. Seed wheat advanced, farm labor advanced, farm implements advanced. Every item of cost save only soil depletion has advanced. Let us state a few comparative figures.

In 1915 denim overalls sold for nine dollars a dozen wholesale; in 1918 the same overalls are quoted at $29.50. In parts of the great wheat belt, farm wages in 1917 were $35.00 per month plus board; in '18 they were $65.00 a month plus board, and the demand could not be supplied even at this figure. Binding twine has gone up from 9 cents in 1914 to 20 cents in 1917 and 26 cents in 1918. A fourteen-inch gang-plow was $65 in 1914, $85 in 1917, and $200 in 1918. In 1914 a seven-foot self-binder retailed for $150, in 1917 the same binder retailed for $185, and in 1918 for $250. The ordinary farm wagon in 1914 cost $75. In 1917 it cost $95, and in 1918 it cost $150. These are retail prices.

The farmer has been obliged to pay a higher price for the articles necessary in producing the crop of 1918, as compared with the crop of 1917, yet he is obliged to accept exactly the same price for wheat in 1918 that he received in 1917. If the farmer complained with justice in December last, he has much greater cause to complain today. Something has, indeed, been attempted, but nothing has been done to remedy this injustice.

WHY SINGLE OUT THE FARMER TO TAKE THE BURDEN OF LOSS?

THE President once said with equal truth and felicity that equal justice is the heart of democracy. In 1917 the millers received a net return upon their investment three hundred per cent in excess of their return in 1914.

The farmer has to pay the increasing prices of meat, transportation, labor, and utensils, clothing, etc., out of the diminished proceeds of his wheat, diminished from $3 to $2 per bushel by a proclamation of the President. The farmer

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cannot see in these different attitudes of the Government towards different classes of industry that equal justice which constitutes the heart of democracy. The wheat farmer is not quite satisfied with the honeyed assurances that bread will win the war and that wheat is the one farm product which is indispensable to the triumph of American arms. Is the wheat farmer to be punished rather than rewarded in accordance with the indispensable character of his service?

The wheat farmer who insists that the injustice admitted by the President should be rectified does not thereby brand himself either as unpatriotic or as a profiteer. His patriotism should not be the occasion of his sacrifice or enslavement nor the excuse of denying him that equal justice which is at once the heart and the crowning glory of democracy.

In his veto message the President avowed that personally he did not believe that the farmers of the country depend upon the stimulation of prices to do their utmost to serve the Nation and the world. The President then with less implied praise averred that if the farmer should be given an advance of price, the laborer would require an advance in wages. If the advanced price had registered itself in the advance of flour (which it would not), it would have cost each wage earner in the country two dollars a year for himself and for each member of his family. The object of the existing law under which the President fixes the price of wheat, was not to hammer down the price of wheat in the farmers' hands, nor to afford any other class the benefit of such enforced and arbitrary reduction. It was not intended that the Government should take from three to six hundred million dollars a year from the wheat producer and bestow that amount as a gratuity upon the consumers of this or any other country.

Fortunately the law itself leaves us in no doubt upon this point. Section 14 of the present act, the price fixing section, empowers the President whenever he finds "that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat," to fix a reasonable guaranteed price in order that the producers of wheat might have the benefit of such price and "in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit." The

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object of the law and the law-makers was not to deprive the farmers of a reasonable profit and to oblige them and the Government to rely solely upon their spirit of patriotism. The law-makers placed their reliance upon constant economic forces and proposed to guarantee the wheat producers a reasonable profit. The law-makers did not believe that they could stimulate the production of wheat reducing its price.

HOW THE LOW FIXED PRICE OF WHEAT WORKS

THE wheat farmer is now asking nothing more than that the purpose and object of the Legislature be realized and that the injustice be corrected, which is inseparable from a system which obliges him to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. This injustice should be corrected as a matter of practical wisdom and a matter of sound public policy. Whatever is unjust is unwise. But we are not obliged to rely upon this necessary implication. There is particular proof of it in this special instance not only in our own country but in other belligerent countries. During the summer of 1917, the Department of Agriculture carried on a nation-wide patriotic campaign to secure the planting of 47,000,000 acres of winter wheat. They failed. The acreage secured was only 42,000,000, the same acreage that the farmers voluntarily planted in 1914 when there was no other encouragement than the prospect of a reasonable return. Rye presents an interesting contrast and should teach a valuable lesson. The farmers increased the acreage of rye of 4,400,000 to more than 6,000,000, an increase of nearly fifty per cent. The price of wheat is fixed; the price of rye is not fixed. Wheat brings only $2.20, fifty or sixty cents less than it is worth. Rye which is worth less intrinsically has sold as high as $3. The farmer can produce more rye to the acre than wheat. The farmer can produce more pounds of corn to the acre than wheat and can under existing market conditions receive more per bushel notwithstanding wheat is worth more intrinsically both as feed and as food. This possibility tends to make the farmer plant corn, rye, barley, oats, and other products the price of which is unrestricted, rather than

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wheat the price of which is restricted. The farmers in my state, (Oklahoma) have sold wheat at $1.90 and with the proceeds have purchased corn as high as $2.20. One farmer put it in an epigram, saying that price reduction has put wheat in the trough and corn on the table. Millions of bushels of wheat have been fed to live stock which ought to have been conserved as a precious resource for ourselves and for our allies. Thus, price regulation like vaulting ambition sometimes overleaps itself.

A farmer who has fertile lands and favorable seasons and who can rely upon from twenty to thirty-five bushels per acre can realize a profit on wheat at $2.20. The average yield per acre sown in the United States last year was eleven bushels. This means that millions of acres yielded only four, five, and six bushels. As a rule, our available surplus for export is produced in the semi-arid country where the yield per acre is low. These men cannot produce under existing high costs at $2.20 per bushel. If they disappear from the equasion, our average production per acre would indeed increase but there would be a dangerous diminution in the total output. In times of crisis it is the total output that counts.

We ought to profit by the experience and especially by the blunders of all other warring nations. In 1916, the French Government fixed the price of wheat too low. The French peasant shook his head. The results were disappointing to the state. In the effect, the keen, logical French mind read the cause. They did not repeat it, they profited by the blunder. The government price of wheat in France today is $3.95 per bushel. The average yield per acre in France exceeds by five or six bushels the average yield in this country. Switzerland is paying for wheat a guaranteed price of $2.70 per bushel.

WHAT WILL BE THE PRICE OF THE 1919 CROP ?

WHAT is to be done with respect to the crop of 1919 ? At this time, no guarantee whatever has been offered. Mr. Hoover has indicated a purpose to buy and hold several hundred million bushels of wheat grown this year against a

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possible shortage next year. Can the farmers be expected to produce a normal crop against a carryover of such proportions? It will be remembered that Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston appointed an Agricultural Advisory Committee of twenty-four members, and is of a quasi public character. It meets from time to time in Washington. Its traveling expenses are paid by the Government. The members are paid ten dollars per day for their expenses while in the Capital. During the early days of the present month, it met and deliberated upon the price of wheat. Seventeen members were present and voting. They unanimously recommended that the price of wheat for the 1919 harvest should be fixed at $2.46 basis Chicago. There was, indeed, one dissenting vote, but this member changed his vote to make the result unanimous. This is the official authoritative advice of the Agricultural Advisory Committee selected by Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston. Will this advice be heeded ? It was given after Mr. Hoover had sent a cablegram from London to the committee advising them not to advise an advance. It was given after Mr. Hoover's assistant, and after Mr. Hoover's attorney, had both appeared in person and advised the Advisory Committee not to advise an advance.

In his veto message, the President committed himself to the administrative method of agreeing upon a price rather than the establishment of a fixed price by legislation. I have no doubt that the American wheat farmer will be reasonably content if the President should act upon the advice of this advisory committee and fix the price for next year's crop at $2.46 basis Chicago. This will not, indeed, amend the injusice for the current year, but it will secure a larger measure of justice, a more near approach to equal justice for the season of 1919. May I be permitted to cite once again Mr. Lincoln's declaration that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. This wheat question has not been settled right. It has not been settled at all. It involves an injury which is admitted by the President, an injury which is felt and suffered by the farmers.

I do not know whether every act of injustice disturbs the

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harmony of the moral universe. I do not know whether every act of injustice calls for ultimate retribution. I do not know whether we could hope for greater success in suspending the great law of retribution that James II experienced in suspending the penal laws of England. I do know that a great nation embarked upon a war for Liberty, Humanity, and Democracy cannot afford to violate the great fundamental principles which underlie and which give vitality and value to these high and mighty objects. The United States cannot afford to be unjust to the humblest citizen who has a right to invoke the protection of its flag.

SINCE HE HAS GONE

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

ALL these silent things about the house,
Are far more silent
Since he has gone.
The yellow blossom in the window,
That used to be so friendly,
Has withdrawn its sun.
I touch the strings of my harp,
And longing flows through
The melody
Like lonely winds
Through a dark forest.
Books
Have grown to be such futile things—
Printed words are cold,
Nor soothe me like the words that come
Through living lips that love. . . .
Even the stars have no message of wars
Or why God made them.

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LABOR REGULATION

The Problem of the War Labor Policies Board

By HON. WILLIAM B WILSON
[SECRETARY OF LABOR]

OUR increasing military energies are putting strains upon industry which call for the most careful husbanding of our manpower. We can no longer leave our labor supply to the unregulated forces of competition nor even the patriotic efforts of diverse agencies of the Government unrelated to a comprehensive policy and unified direction. There is an increasing shortage of unskilled labor for war projects and likewise a shortage in certain classes of skilled workers. The needed labor must be secured for war industries by drawing upon non-essential or less essential industries. This has been done largely at haphazard. A dispensable industry competes for the labor of an essential plant; instances are frequent where one Government project secures men at the expense of another. As a result, the labor turnover is alarmingly great, with a loss in war efficiency which we cannot afford. Not the least of the consequences of the existing situation is its effect upon the morale of workers in the restlessness which it produces and even encourages.

These are largely the natural consequences of subjecting to a new terrific strain existing agencies and old attitudes of mind. We can no longer submit to these. The first problem, therefore, to which the War Labor Policies Board addressed itself was the formulation of a plan to centralize the recruiting of so-called unskilled labor and thus to insure the fullest use of such labor to the needs of the war. The Board has arrived at a plan which embodies the opinion of every production department of the Government and is supported by the thought of representatives of industry and labor who have been in our counsel in working out this problem.

ONE CENTRAL NATIONALIZED LABOR AGENCY

THE essence of the plan is the recognition that one centralized national agency is demanded for recruiting the

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workers for the nation's war needs; that the United States Employment Service of this Department is the agency appropriate for this task; that adequate resources must be given to this Service and corresponding effectiveness must be secured to enable it to discharge the responsibility. Accordingly, every department of the Government, through the strength at its disposal, whether it be by the mechanism of contract or by shutting off raw material from recalcitrant industry, is pledged to the enforcement of this plan. It will mean, of course, that thereafter all private enterprises in securing labor on a substantial scale will be prohibited by the full authority at the disposal of the Government.

The proper mobilization and distribution of labor are themselves part of a fruitful and just national labor policy, and without these we cannot hope for progress in the solution of other labor questions that call for settlement. The success of the plan is, therefore, indispensable. While it may encounter obstruction because of minor selfish interests which it must offend, we need not anticipate serious difficulties if the public mind is fully apprised and the nation's understanding of our purposes is enlisted. The Policies Board, therefore, deemed the public announcement of this program of sufficient national importance to deserve, and indeed to call for, its public approval by the President.

The need for military supplies has made the mobility of labor an important factor in military operations. The impulse of every department, board and industrial establishment has been to secure the labor required to increase their productive capacity without regard to its effect upon the industrial situation or the priority claims of their neighbors. That condition is rapidly being remedied through the centralization of the responsibility for the mobilization of labor in the Employment Service of the Federal Department of Labor. Even those whose prejudices have heretofore stood in the way begin to realize that the problem can only be efficiently handled through a common policy emanating from a central directing head.

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THE INDIVIDUALISTIC STRIKE CAUSES HARMFUL TURNOVER

THE turnover of labor in our country is tremendous. In normal times it is nothing unusual to find establishments where the turnover is 200 per cent or 300 per cent per annum. That naturally reduces efficiency. There is not only the loss of time incident to the change of men, but no man can be thoroughly efficient on his job until he has become familiar with his machine, his shop, the characteristics of his shop mates and foremen, and the hundred and one other details that go to make up the sum total of his shop surroundings.

The turnover is the individualistic strike. It represents the unorganized workman dissatisfied with conditions or the organized workman unable or unwilling to interest his fellows in a collective protest. It produces in the aggregate very much more loss of time than is involved in all of the strikes of trade unions or spontaneous collective protest. The remedy lies in correcting the evil that results in such tremendous turnover.

Since we have engaged in the war, it becomes incumbent upon us to win the war; and, while we may make many mistakes, while we may from time to time meet with disaster, there can be but one ultimate outcome, and that is victory. Under former methods of waging warfare an army, even though it might be an army of invasion, very frequently lived upon the country through which it was campaigning, supplied only with arms and munitions as the product of the labor of the comparatively small number of people at home. The warfare of today is entirely different. The man in the trenches is all-important. He is making great sacrifices and taking great risks. We are proud of him. But the man in the shop has also become an important factor in carrying on modern warfare, and our industrial problems have become more intense by virtue of the fact that the man in the shop and the man in the field are both vitally essential to the successful conduct of our campaign.

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WHAT OUR AIRCRAFT NEEDS

A Constantly Changing Science That Requires Skillful Administration

By EDWIN WILDMAN

THE fastest ocean liners are the largest. This has *not* yet been accomplished with the ships of the air oceans. The need of larger and faster aeroplanes is the immediate problem of war aircraft.

Air *fighting* is a new science; reconnaissance, scouting, photographing, and even air dueling, have arrived at a certain degree of perfection, but dreadnaughts of the sky are in the crucible. "Dreadnaughts," in sky-parlance, are bombing planes, of sufficient carrying power to elevate at high speed and navigate at higher speed, carrying air "depth bombs," capable of destroying enemy land forces and equipment. It is the problem in military aeronautics that faces the Allies and ourselves. It involves both the engine and plane, as well as the science of aerial calculations in accurate gunnery, for air ammunition is a precious burden that must be used effectively.

American manufacturers of light and swift aircraft, capable of scouting and giving battle to each other in the air, have achieved quantity production—i. e., the manufacturing methods of output necessary to co-ordinate the functions of different concerns working on aircraft. But while the "eyes" of the army—and navy—are still necessary, and the output must not decline, the call from abroad is for *Bombers*.

A Bomber is an advanced type of a reconnaissance plane, which at present is not a fast plane, but one capable of carrying two or three men, having a climbing altitude of 10,000 feet in 10 to 25 minutes and a speed of from 80 to 100 miles an hour. The reconnaissance machine carries from 800 to 1,000 pounds, and is used for observation, "spotting," and

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map making, with complete aerial photograph outfit. The larger Curtiss and De Haviland are of this type.

The Bombing plane goes farther in size and carrying capacity, though at present less in radius of operation. It carries a crew of from two to a dozen men and at least two tons of bombs, at a 100 mile speed on a trip perhaps 1,000 miles, out and back, or around a field of operation. The German Gotha, Friederichshafen, A. E. G., have set a pace in bombing planes, and lead in quantity production designs. They have created the problem, and forced the Allies to develop better machines. England built the Handley-Page which we are perfecting and are now manufacturing, and we have developed the Curtiss Flying Boat which is the bombing plane of the seas. We are now working on the Caproni type, and the French are building the Breguet and Caudron. The Curtiss Flying bombing plane boat carries up a ton of bombs and is an effective weapon against the submarine. It has proved itself in coast patrol work and naval observation as it operates from battleships, and auxiliary "mother" ships, and from coast stations. The Curtiss factory at Buffalo has turned out nearly 600 of these and the government naval aircraft factory at Philadelphia has delivered over fifty, which are now in service over British waters. These flying boats, Secretary Daniels told me, have given excellent results.

A NEW SCIENCE IN FIGHTING FROM THE AIR

THE coming of the bombing plane has developed a new science of air fighting—a science that has advanced so rapidly on the fighting fronts that now over 25 per cent of aircraft are used for bombing purposes. In 1915 the Germans opened the ball by dropping bombs on French and English cities. This act, then new to aerial warfare, inspired reprisals in October of the same year when the French dropped bombs at Karlsruhe. A new era in war from the air began, and the need of actually battling from the sky became obvious. The early bombing planes were slow and in their infancy and were therefore operated at night, and consequently with doubtful results—aside from terrifying non-combatants and

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destroying property. They did not prove very effective in actually hitting munition depots, aerodromes, or troops. The need, therefore, arose for day operations and the increased speed and bombing capacity of this type of war ordnance. Also there came into operation a new science of air tactics of squadron formation, in which a group of armored bombing planes could be escorted by twelve to eighteen fast battle and pursuit planes over the enemy's lines and protect them against the hostile attack of high speed planes. These squadron formations shoot up beyond the range of aircraft guns and spread out in V shape formation, protected by the fast cruising battleplanes.

For great distances these squadrons must fly over powerful anti-aircraft fire, pursued by swift enemy battle plane fleets, hold their course and drive off the attacks, until they arrive at their goal or objective, thousands of feet below. The squadron must keep its definite course, keep its sights set accurately so that when the crucial moment of attack comes, bombs may be shot, or dropped, with the accuracy of rifle fire, that they may not go amiss their mark, or explode uselessly in the air.

The operator in the bombing plane must be a skilled range finder and "quick at the trigger." He must calculate the depth, set his sights, know exactly the angle of the plane with reference to the objective, and then let go the charge. It takes a bombing operator three months of intensive training in military and flying practice to learn the science, which includes strict discipline, drilling, theory of flight, aeronautic engineering, knowledge of instruments and explosives, and even the aeroplane itself, as well as astronomy, meteorology, and radio telegraphy.

THE AMERICAN AVIATORS "MARVELOUS"

AMERICAN boys have taken to aeronautics as a duck takes to water. The testimony of Captain Heurtaux, the famous French Ace, is that the work of our flyers is nothing less than "merveilleux." Lieutenant Belloni, the Caproni official representative in this country, reports that his Italian airmen testify that the Americans flying the huge Caproni

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bombing planes have performed truly marvelous feats. "Their dash, gallantry, exceptional intelligence and their love for the aeroplane is wonderful," he declares. "They fly both day and night in these giant planes, not yet seen in this country, with sportsman-like skill, loop the loop, spin and do antics that nobody could excel."

Our airmen are over the lines in Italy and France and their record is in the front annals of aerial warcraft. Today the Liberty motor, the efficiency of which has increased 50 per cent in the last six months, is carrying the great foreign bombing planes over the enemy's territory; tomorrow our own bombers will auxiliate the planes of the Allies.

Just how soon, is the question that is uppermost in the minds of Americans. On our flying fields at home, the bombing Caproni, the Handley-Page, and the new monster Curtiss, not yet adopted by the Government, but more powerful and swifter than any bombing plane ever built, our aviators are receiving their instructions from our own and from foreign skilled pilots.

As there is a hush before a storm so there is a lull preceding the advance of the bombing squadrons that will go over Germany. "Instead of forty or fifty machines now necessary to start bombing expeditions, it will soon be possible to do the same work with a new machine as powerful as a whole squadron," says the great authority, Caproni. There is under design abroad a machine intended to carry up 100 men and engines almost as powerful as those of a medium sized battleship. Such a machine may or may not play a part in this war, but it is within the scientific probability of the next two or three years. This type of a plane will easily cross the Atlantic. This is not a dream, as we once might have imagined, for the bomber has within the past year developed from a 100 to 1,000 horsepower machine, an achievement reflected in the vision of the plane drawn in the first chapter of this series, and only a precursor of what aircraft will develop in the coming years. Caproni himself predicts that war in the future lies in the air, to come about as rapidly as the commercial development of production comes into its own as a great industry. When that day

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arrives, land and sea forces will be no match for the great warships of the air. The fighting forces of the earth will be transferred to the air and great bombing fleets and their air colliers will fly over land and sea, only challenged in their military supremacy by other fleets of equal or superior size and carrying power.

SENATORIAL PESSIMISM AND EXPERT OPINION

IN this relation one is surprised to read such statements as appear in an interview given by Senator Morris Sheppard, an Administration Senator. Speaking of the aircraft production, the Senator said, "Sometimes I wonder whether some of our people are not making the same mistake in banking on the aeroplane that the whole German Nation made in banking on the submarine. The Germans made their promises of submarine efficiency official and practically staked their all on that new development in warfare; while our promises of aeroplane efficiency have been at all times unofficial, superinduced by an eager hope on the part of the public, and fed by a volume of more or less imaginative journalistic speculation."

Quite apart from the support which the press of the country have given the commendable efforts of the Administration to promote aircraft production, the Senator would have sustained his support of the present aircraft program if he had informed us of the present management of the "Army Air Service." Under the direction of General W. L. Kenly, with the title of Director of Military Aeronautics, there are thirteen separate departments of the Army Air Service, each department under a separate chief, with innumerable personnel attached to each one. These sectional divisions of the Army Air Service create a formidable and somewhat complex control of aircraft production, through their power to select and determine all types of airplanes and accessories used in the Army. Although comparatively new in authority, it is doubtful if so complicated a division of executive control can fail to delay a successful speeding up of this gigantic war industry. It may be that except for the "imaginative jour-

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nalistic speculation," which Senator Sheppard refers to, the present speed of aeroplane manufacture would not call for a Senatorial investigation.

In a report issued in August, by the Naval Consulting Board, W. B. Stout, Technical Adviser of the Aircraft Board, points out some important changes that will be necessary in the technical program of making war aeroplanes. He says that the present aeroplane propeller suggests a large field for research. Wooden propellers are far from satisfactory, according to his opinion, although no substitute has yet been found. The aeroplane compass is also far from satisfactory. Mr. Stout thinks it possible that the future steering of aeroplanes will be along wireless rather than magnetic line with definite control between cities. The problem of the plane tanks is still conjectural. They must be made more bullet proof and a decrease in fire danger should be studied. New types of exceedingly large bombing planes, carrying tons of bombs and flying at night, are in demand. Night flying involves new problems, in protective measures relating to anti-aircraft guns, searchlights and combat tactics. Also, considerable speed can be added to all types of aeroplanes, says Mr. Stout.

That America is not behind the world in its preparations is evinced by the recent government $100,000,000 aircraft corporation, which Mr. Baker has explained as a financing adjunct to the air program, both of this country and the Allies, to facilitate loans for the construction and purchase of aircraft, and to develop the spruce cutting industry for the common benefit of French, British, Italians and ourselves.

A "SCHWAB" OF THE AIRCRAFT PROGRAM

OPINION throughout aircraft circles demands a capable Production Chief, a "Schwab of the Aircraft Program." While the Dayton-Wright Company has completed its one thousandth plane, and the Curtiss Company some 3,500 in the past year—while other factories are in various stages of production, working upon the numerous types, the centralization of a co-ordinated control, with absolute one-man

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power, is lacking. As the ship program halted until a production head was selected, so the aircraft production program is held back by the lack of that kind of efficient central authority necessary to co-ordinate it as one gigantic business, each arm and part a smooth working unit of the whole.

To the automobile industry has the government been obliged to look for aircraft production, aside from one or two aircraft plants of pre-war small proportions. The great automobile concerns at Detroit, Toledo, Flint, Elmira and Buffalo—the Ford, Packard, Willys-Overland, General Motors, and the Pierce, were brought into the aircraft program, as were large body making concerns to produce the fuselage, or aeroplane body. These highly equipped concerns were designated, along with a few newly expanded aircraft plants, to produce parts, exchange them, and assemble completed planes. The method produced quantity production, but so complicated and vast is the disassembled units that the need of an all knowing production chief has become apparent.

It took a steel expert, a shipbuilder, to bring chaos out of the shipbuilding program; it will take a motor and automobile body expert of vast grasp and practical ability to bring together all the complex ends of the aircraft program and coordinate them and inspire the great army of workmen with the same sporting war spirit that has speeded up the ship program.

To seek to accomplish this Secretary Baker has taken Mr. Ryan into the cabinet, with full authority over the Army section of aircraft, with powers similar to the Air Ministry of Great Britain. Whether this will solve the question of coordinating production is problemetical. It will help, undoubtedly. The Army abroad is asking for development of the best and most needed bombing types, and increasing production. A mere minister, in our political sense, may and may not be able to accomplish these results. It will depend upon whether Mr. Ryan combines qualities necessary to coordinate industry and speed up deliveries. That seems to be the crying need. Political selections or nominations based upon equipment in political circles have no place in such a

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program. What is wanted as Production Chief is a man fitted from the ground up, measured by known achievements in closely, if not actually, affiliated work both as to production and the handling of labor, the genius for organization and co-ordination of related units of manufacture.

AIRCRAFT WORK IN OUR MOTOR CONCERNS

CRITICISM has been levelled at the automobile manufacturers, and the shortcomings of aircraft deliveries laid partially at their door. This is unjust and an evasion of the facts. The trouble lies in the delays caused by changes in models, indecision as to best types, and the constant development of aircraft science. Automobile and aeroplane factories have been in intensive operations in some units and in others large facilities in partial production. For instance at the Packard factory there has been an uncertain output of perhaps 50 motors per day, with facilities under way but not completed, for a much larger production. The Packard does not produce a Liberty complete, confining its work largely to machining parts and assembling. So with the Ford, who are turning out a like number, manufacturing 80 per cent of all Liberty cylinders from steel tubing furnished by the National Tubing Company, and devoting five floors, 900 feet long, to machining parts, while assembling and testing a number each day in their newly erected sheds for that purpose. The day I was there, only three Liberty motors were under test in their 160 testing sheds. The output of the Liberties is accelerating with great rapidity. $11,000,000 has been put into the Lincoln Motor Company's plant at Detroit, with government assistance. The plant has a large capacity for motors and is devoted exclusively to producing the Liberty. It could turn out probably a hundred a day, perhaps more, if it had the labor, but here, as in some other factories, labor is a problem that needs a master hand and government co-operation. In the training camps are many skilled machinists, but to deflect them into service in the factories is to create a difficult labor situation which, under army regulations, is hard to overcome. A machinist

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in uniform, working on soldier's pay, is not an efficient workman, nor is he amenable to the same discipline as a machinist in overalls. Too, the sex problem protrudes itself where there are from 10 to 25 per cent female laborers in the shops. In the soldier's uniform is a fascination hard to resist in the imagination of the girl workers, and a valuable asset to the Don Juan of the shops, yet under government regulation the soldier must wear his uniform.

These are minor instances in the working out of a big problem, but essential to overcome, as is the problem of cost-plus evil, which disrupts a shop's personnel, and gives the shop working on this plan an advantage over the shop building engines or fuselages on a flat price basis. The science of paying men by piece work, too, has not been reduced to definite ratios. Labor, and particularly transient, or wandering labor, has so long been in the habit, in the majority, of holding back, resting on its oars, on per diem pay, and uncertain continuance of its job, that to determine its efficiency with relation to piece work pay, in aircraft factories, is a difficult problem, not yet based upon certain ratios or percentages.

The whole woman-in-labor problem, which has thrust itself forward in these war days, is wholly an unsolved science of economies. If women can earn men's pay, the men want more, is an anomaly that has arisen. The adjustment of women, working side by side with men, is a speculative phase of economics as well as of efficiency.

In the quick development of a great industry, which has had to commence at the training school for labor, and the laboratory for its scientific beginnings, and the testing room for its proofs, there has emerged a myriad of problems that cry for the master hand at the top, organization throughout, efficiency and co-ordination everywhere, and definite orders and far sighted plans of production in the control centres at Washington.

Probably the most ideal example, from a manufacturing point of view, is found in the great Curtiss plant at Buffalo, the largest aeroplane plant in the world. This plant covers

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80 acres, with 57 acres under one roof. It has 17,000 employees, and a payroll of about $400,000 per week. It is turning out 30 flying boats per week, and 85 advanced training planes. Underneath its roof are some sixteen units or different professions, from laboratorial experts to patent attorneys and opticians. Despite every method known to secure labor its supply is still short, although only one one day strike has occurred in the past year. This company does not manufacture all the parts of a completed plane in this particular plant, but does in closely affiliated plants. It therefore achieves quantity production under its own roof. That is perhaps the ideal of aircraft production, but, of course, not by any means essential to the greater idea of a national quantity production. It merely illustrates the possibilities of the future, when the industry shall have developed its own plants and not be dependent upon a hundred widely scattered units, manufacturing parts and all subject to different manufacturing and labor conditions that now permeate the aircraft industry.

Two vital and necessary conditions must be solved today, before perfect working production can be accomplished; absolute efficient control and authority at the top, now aimed at in the appointment of Mr. Ryan, and perfect co-ordination throughout the entire now separately producing units, involving complete knowledge of each unit's capacity, complete inventory of materials, entire clock working regulation of output of each and every part that must be transported and delivered so as to meet assembling requirements, and a go-ahead program on the big bombing types, so urgently required abroad. This is essentially a manufacturing question and only the wise selection of a Production Chief, a thorough going factory genius, working upon a definite plan of production as to types, engines and quantities, can put our aircraft program "over the top."

This is a gigantic task and one that is taxing the utmost brains of the men who are conscientiously trying to work out the problem at Washington.

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THE GREATEST ASSEMBLING AIRPLANE PLANT IN THE WORLD

Where Planes Are Completed and American Fliers Have Their Final Training

By HAMILTON M. WRIGHT

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE FORUM IN FRANCE]

TODAY America's airplane preparations are beginning to yield results on a great scale in finished airplanes in France, results that far surpass expectations. Yet it is only a few months ago that the statement was made in Congress, and out of it, that our air programme was a failure.

The best answer to any past criticism of our air programme is to be found right here in France. *American airplanes are now arriving in France in very large numbers* and are being skilfully and rapidly assembled by great forces of experts. I have seen them not only being assembled but in flight, and have talked to men who have piloted them. I have just visited "Somewhere in France," a wonderful Air Service Production Center, one of the marvelous enterprises established in France by our Government which has within a years' time (in many cases within six months' time) completed a far greater work than the construction of the Panama Canal.

This Air Service Production plant is far from war or the scenes of war. It is a tremendous industrial plant operated on a basis of wonderful efficiency, where a day or two could easily be spent in the assembling plant, repair shop and hangars alone. Yet within scarcely more than a half year the workers for this Air Service Production Center were selected and brought from the United States, the construction of the plant was completed, the organization came into active operation and a giant enterprise that suffers nothing by com-

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parison with long established industrial concerns was under way.

THE GREATEST ASSEMBLING PLANT IN THE WORLD

THE production is synchronized like that of a great automobile factory. The main idea is production and system.

The American airplanes reach the plant in knocked-down form, the engines installed in the fuselage, but the other parts unattached. The boxes containing the parts are painted to indicate whether their contents are fuselage, wings, landing gear, struts, etc. The distribution of the parts as they reach the plant is thus simplified. On arrival at the proper departments, the boxes are opened and their contents inspected by skilled men. Parts found damaged in any way not entering the assembling plant, go at once to the repair shop. All parts of the American airplane are standardized and interchangeable.

The method by which the parts are assembled suggests high grade automobile production. As the planes come in at the lower end of the plant, they are without tails or wings and look like huge dragon flies from which these appendages have been plucked. As the parts are fitted in and attached, the plane begins, like a chrysalis unfolding, to assume more picturesque form. With the successive steps of its assembling the plane is moved toward the opposite end of the long aisle. By the time it has reached the further end it is turned out completely assembled, a finished product, so far as the assembling is concerned, a monster of the air, beautiful, swift and powerful.

The planes are put together for front line service in a remarkably short space of time, while the pilots are coming in continually from the different instruction centers, ready for service. The productive capacity is tremendous, amazing. *There is nothing like this plant in Europe or in the world.* At the height of its capacity it will reach a *daily* production that would have been considered a *month's* record two years ago.

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As in the great automobile factories, each man has his line of work, for which he has been chosen because of peculiar fitness. The construction and maintenance department does all the production of airplanes. The personnel is made up largely of mechanical engineers. It includes men who were instrumental in the organization of the great mechanical industries of Detroit and Toledo, motor mechanics, assistants and others. This marvelous plant is operated by men who never speak of "overtime." No report is put in as to time. All the officers work as hard as the men, and are fine, clean-cut fellows. As throughout the army, men who commanded large incomes in the United States are working here.

"Glad to have the chance," said one, though he confessed that he would like to be in the front line.

The American plane in air is a wonderful success from the point of view of the men who fly it and who expect to go into service with it. "It's a great machine," said one, "and climbs when on the loop." It is said to actually gain in altitude when looping.

Recently an American airplane flew 30 miles in 15 minutes against a heavy head wind in ordinary going. It is expected to climb 20,000 feet in 4½ to 5 minutes, or an upward climb of approximately a mile a minute. The motor yields two horsepower for every pound of its weight.

AMERICAN FLIERS SUPER-MEN

THESE young fliers are a remarkable class of men. In the first place flyers are selected for mental, moral, physical and psychological qualities of a super-normal type. Pilots are strongly and, as a rule, sparely built men ranging between 5 ft. 9 and 6 ft. or more in height, the taller men being more numerous. A large majority are college graduates. The flyer is the real sport of the army. He joins the flying corps because it is a sporting chance. And that is just the man who is wanted.

"I hope those fellows at the front will save the war until I get in," said one of the flyers. "It's the only war we have, after all, and I want to see it tenderly handled till I get there."

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A racing motor car would seem dull enough sport to a man who has dropped from the skies like a plummet, for 2,000 feet, fallen sidewise to diminish air resistance, made tail slides and nose dives, climbed up into space, and hurled his machine through the air like some aerial torpedo.

Outside of the assembling plant sounded the roar of motors being tested. Here were planes whose motors were being " warmed up," that the machine guns could be made to synchronize with the revolutions of the propeller so that the guns might shoot between the revolving blades. The synchronizing was done in an open, concrete-floored shed. The wheels were blocked to keep the propeller from pulling the wingless machine forward and an extra man sat on the tail of the airplane. The head of the plane faced a high bank of earth into which the shots were fired. At this plant a number of planes can be synchronized as to their machine guns and the revolutions of their motors at the same time.

In another portion of the grounds pilots were engaged in machine gun ground practice. Each man of the squad in training sights at a small dummy airplane poised as if in flight mounted on a stick before a sand bank. The sights are deflected so that the man's markmanship is registered on a target close by the dummy plane. The men are drilled to handle their guns and shoot almost instantly. Pistol shooting and shooting at clay pigeons are practiced on the ground; in the air, shooting at shirt sleeves trailed behind aeroplanes, kites or small balloons.

PLANT BUILT IN RECORD TIME

THIS Air Production Center with its great sheet iron structures, assembling plant, repairing plant, salvage plant, flying fields, barracks, machine shops, American locomotives and cars, railway switches, saw mill, farms, thousand of trucks, etc., is on land purchased by the American Government. Within four months the construction department has built and equipped a city that would hold the same number of inhabitants as dwelt in the capital of the United States before the war. The group that built this and several other

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stations was made up of squadrons of professional men selected by the War Department in conference with the American Institute of Architects, the Engineering Society of America and recognized societies of the allied trades and professions.

On arrival in France, they built the air training camps and all of the necessary buildings and flying fields in the zone of advance. Through the sanitary precautions enforced by the Medical Department of the engineers, the sick list is kept down to a minimum basis. At the center I visited there had been but four deaths, a remarkable showing where thousands of men are together. Only one of these deaths was from disease, the other three being accidental. Disciplinary punishment is practically obsolete at the Center and at the aviation camps. Unlike other wars, the court-martial is practically unknown.

Bible classes, a class in French history, band and orchestral music, concerts, vaudeville shows and athletics enliven what little spare time there is. The musical programme at the Center is in charge of a former architect in New York City. The lieutenant who courteously showed me through the Center was formerly teller in a Boston bank. I met several former architects and a veteran of the Philippine campaign and of San Juan Hill, Captain Charles Edwards of St. Louis. The Commanding Officer, Major E. V. Sumner, came from the United States regular cavalry. Corporal Sconce of Nebraska is the amateur athlete champion of the Air Production Center. On the Fourth of July, with competing French and American teams, he won the shot put and 220 hurdles; he was second in the 50 yard dash and second in the broad jump. On Bastille day, July 14, the center sent the track team to Orleans and won the 220 and was second in the shot put, the best athletes in France competing.

The camp, which lies in one of the fairest spots in France, on gently rolling or level ground, a wheat field country, a great barracks. The Red Cross has a fine social hall here, and serves, at 3 francs, an appetizing meal. It was in the dining room of the hall that I received the first white bread I

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have seen in France, also plenty of butter and jam, coffee with milk in it and sugar. Iced tea, beefsteak, new potatoes, string beans, pudding were included in the meal. At night the dining hall can be converted into a moving picture room. The Y. M. C. A. is performing an equally important work. The streets of the camp suggest New York, and the headquarters are located at " Broadway and Fifth Avenue."

OLDEST CAMP NEWSPAPER IN SERVICE

THE camp publishes a newspaper, *The Plane News,* printed once a week, which has reached its thirty-fifth issue, the oldest weekly published with the American forces. Its editors and publishers have built up a plant that represents an investment of 30,000 francs ($7,500). A recent editorial says: " It is disclosing no secret to state that when the American forces began their invasion of Mexico in 1916, our air service comprised the following: one aero squadron, twenty pilots, and eight airplanes. One aviation school had been established at San Diego, Calif.

" Omitting details, one cannot but realize the tremendous growth of the air service by a single comparison. We cannot obviously print here the strength and equipment of this post, but every man here knows that our camp alone is infinitely a greater organization than was the entire American Aviation Corps a year ago. And when one adds to this great Center the schools in the United States and those in France, England and Italy, the realization comes that the air service, a year ago the infant of our Army divisions, today stands out as the division having accomplished more than any other branch of the Army."

Apart from the machine shops, the barracks, the hospitals, the headquarters, and the hangars, there are seven flying fields at the camp. It requires usually a great deal of work to produce a good flying field, much more than is essential in the making of a race-course. Obstructions and bumps must be removed. One of the most skilful of the pilots said that despite his length of service, he always drew in his breath when he landed. To the men in training, their first landings,

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in a small high-powered machine, are fraught with anxiety. The different fields are for successive steps in training.

When a man reaches France he has already received a good deal of training in America, always his ground school training. He has enlisted as a cadet with the rank of a private. He has the standing of an enlisted man, but, with very few exceptions, the privileges of an officer. He has been put through a physical examination that only a physical thoroughbred can pass.

When he finally arrives in France, he first takes the roullers, a stationary machine equipped with all of the controls. In this his hand and mind are trained to work as one. The next step is to take a flight in a double control machine. The pupil holds the driving stick and feels every move that the instructor makes. Virtually he flies for a month before he ever goes into the air alone. Next he goes into the 23 meter single control and performs his first solo flight; he is then given his brevet and becomes an R. M. A. (Reserve Military Aviator). His next solo flight is in an 18 m. machine, and next in a 15, and it is in the 15 m. machine that he first encounters real danger. This machine is very small and hits around at about 60 miles an hour. In the 15 meter machine it is necessary, because of the small wing spread, to land at terrific speed.

Then, having become an expert at map reading, he takes his cross-country flights. Then he goes into the spiral class; he next goes into acrobatics where the machine goes through every form of evolution necessary to actual combat, and then into a course of aerial gunnery. Up to this point it has taken him five months from the time he went to ground school. He takes a month with the machine gun in the air, shooting at kites and balloons and aerial targets. After a man has finished his aerial gunnery, he is considered ready for front line service. He is then assigned to an esquadrille (squadron) and goes to the front.

In the event that a man has not proved himself a good shot or not an especially skilled flyer, he is sent to what the aviator terms bombing. It is here that he learns to pilot the

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slower machines that seek higher altitudes and never enter into actual combat except through bombing.

FRENCH TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN AIRMEN

A YOUNG French aviator paid a remarkable tribute to the skill and experienced work of the American flyer, than whom, he said, there was no more brilliant air fighter in the world. Nor was there any, he thought, who could turn himself to better account in so many phases of aerial warfare. He was referring particularly to the average higher standard of the flyer who had reached the front after his period of training had been completed, rather than to the work of any particular individual.

No other country has undertaken the production of airplanes on quite the same scale as that on which America is undertaking this work. Our airplane production bears a close analogy to our method of standardized automobile production. The French who have been able to watch our progress closely regard both the method and its practical application as highly effective.

Concerning the operations of the Allies in using airplanes for war purposes in greater numbers and dispositions, Captain Paul Meunier, the expert French aviator, said that America is right in thinking that the use of the airplanes now being sent over by the American Army will be the deciding weight in the war scale.

"I have seen," said he, "whole groups of the enemy absolutely put out of action by a single airplane. The airplane sending down bombs on the enemy can stampede the horses of the artillery, rendering it useless. In some cases the bolting of the artillery horses may cause the loss of the guns.

"As for the men! An airplane can make the enemy crazed with fright. There is no escape from an airplane unless you go deep down into cellars and pits thrown out laterally.

"Taking airplanes as a means of action, they must be in masses, that is in groups of, say, 200 airplanes. These should be subdivided into fifties and the whole directed by an

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Admiral. You must get accustomed to think of the navigation of the air as analogous to that of the sea. Why not an Admiral of the air as well as an Admiral of the sea? If the rank does not already exist, it is because there are not enough machines to be employed en masse.

"The Americans are doing a wonderfully good thing in getting thousands of airplanes together. When this is done the rest will follow as a corollary.

"Airplanes can keep reserves from coming up; they can wreck railway centers; they can prevent provisions and ammunition from being brought to the lines. They can go behind the enemy's lines and cut off the men at the front."

This is probably fairly representative of the Allied view of our air programme. That programme is being executed with the same efficiency with which we assembled and trained our troops and transported them to France, and with the patriotism that has marked the American soldier in every part of the line that he had occupied. It is being conducted with the highest degree of business and industrial efficiency of which our people can boast.

In connection with this, we should not neglect to mention and pay tribute to the wonderful air work of our Allies. During the year beginning July 1, 1917, and ending June 30, 1918, the British have brought down over 4,000 enemy aircraft, while the loss in British machines has only slightly exceeded 1,213. This is according to the British Official Press Bureau. In that year 2,150 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British on the West Front alone, while 1,083 enemy aircraft have been driven down out of control. During the same period the Royal Air Force units, working in conjunction with the Royal Navy, shot down 623 enemy aircraft. The other theatres of war make up the total already given. The figures for the French or our other Allies are not at hand, yet the Communiqués every day give an index of their activity.

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THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN OF 1918

By HOMER S. CUMMINGS
[VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE]

THERE is a sound basis for the belief that the Democratic party will be successful in the coming Congressional campaign. Events seem to have made such a result inevitable. The leaders of the Republican party, being quite aware of this situation, have sought to forestall it by urging that it would be better for the country to elect a Congress adverse to the Administration, than to choose one in harmony with it.

The mere fact that such a suggestion is seriously made is an indication of extreme poverty of invention, and a proof of the hopeless plight in which the Republican party finds itself.

The Republican party is a minority party. It is without a single attractive issue upon which it can go before the country, and it is unable to suggest an alternative program, which the American people would, for one moment, think of endorsing. For ambitious politicians, who have made no pretence of adjourning politics, this is, indeed, a most distressing predicament.

Manifestly the overwhelming business of America is to win the war. This is a purpose to which all other considerations are subordinate. The outstanding fact is that President Wilson is not only President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, but he is the leader of his party, and is at the head of an administration which is actually conducting the war, and conducting it with success. The fundamental difficulty which the Republicans confront grows out of the attempt to justify a distinction between support of the President and such limited support of the President, for war purposes only, as the Republican leaders, in

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their wisdom, think proper. To persuade a majority of the American people that it is wise to make such a distinction will require more plausibility than the Republican leaders possess. It is a program which counsels domestic and political confusion during a period of war. It is pregnant with opportunities for political "sniping" and can serve no purpose of patriotism. The resolute spirit of the people at large requires a whole-hearted support of the Administration. Any attempt to equivocate or to draw fine distinctions can lead only to the discomfiture of the person or the party making the attempt. The great mass of our people believe in the President and propose to stand by him. Surely the Administration would be in a better position to devote its energies to the problems of the war if supported, in Congress, by those who have confidence in it, rather than by those who, openly or covertly, seek to take advantage of it. Our President has become the leading figure in the affairs of the world, his influence was never greater than it is today, his words carry into every quarter of the globe and the statesmen of the allied governments have accepted his leadership. It would be a sorry commentary upon popular government if the results in November should impair, in the least degree, the influence of that illustrious and commanding figure.

TO READJUST THE PROCESSES OF PEACE

NEITHER has the Republican party, as an organization, in any wise, purged itself of its ancient vices or made itself a trustworthy vehicle for the expression of the best thought of the American people. It is still narrow, partisan and provincial. It has neither fully grasped the significance of the democratic ideal nor evinced any adequate appreciation of the greatness or destiny of America. During all this formative period, when great undertakings were afoot, it has contented itself, for the most part, with gloomy foreboding and futile criticism.

There is, today, a general recognition that the great purpose to which our people are committed has been carried forward with expedition and success. To readjust the processes

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of peace so as to serve the activities of war has been an undertaking requiring leadership of unexampled skill. So striking has been the result, so prompt has been the response of the people, so free have our public affairs been from any suggestion of scandal or improper influence, that it scarcely lies in the mouth of those who conducted the Spanish-American war to indulge in the luxury of criticism. This great business of the war has been scientifically handled.

The plans of the Administration, avoiding the bizarre, the abortive and the spectacular, have been carefully considered and effectively matured. Today we have one and one-half million men overseas, well armed, well provisioned, properly supported, sound in health, adequately trained and under competent military leadership. Day by day the number grows. Under the careful administration of the Selective Draft Law, the uninterrupted flow of men to France will continue until the victory is won. It is fair to say that the leaders of the Democratic party knew how to conduct the war. No ingenuity of phrase, no plea of partisanship will seduce the American people into taking any action in November which would indicate a desire for a change of leadership or invite the disturbances which would come of divided council.

CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE present Administration has been effective not only in war but in peace.

The nation has traveled far under the leadership of President Wilson. The Federal Reserve Law, vigorously opposed at the time by Senator Root and the anti-administration forces, has completely reconstructed the finances of this country and placed our affairs upon such a stable basis that we have been able to meet the great demands of the war without monetary disturbance or the semblance of a panic. The Farm Loan Act was a constructive measure which has proved of inestimable benefit to the farming population and has had a most happy result in stimulating the growing of the crops needed for the war. The taking over, by the Government, of the railroad system as well as the telephone and telegraph

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lines of this country were progressive and stabilizing measures. The organization of the War Finance Corporation was an act of statesmanship. The Bill providing for an Alien Property Custodian to take over enemy-owned and enemy-controlled property was a constructive measure of the highest consequence. The establishment of the War Trade Board has proved of great service, not only to our own country, but to our Allies as well. The establishment of War Risk Insurance was another evidence of the alertness and foresight of the Administration. The establishment of a Tariff Commission was another measure of statesmanship, well calculated to remove the discussion of tariff schedules from the domain of politics. The Ship Purchase Act and the Merchant Marine Law, so bitterly opposed by reactionary Republicans, have proved of enormous benefit to America and promise to make America supreme upon the seas during the reconstruction period following the war. The Smith-Lever Act was another measure of wise statesmanship. The laws passed with reference to labor and in the interest of workingmen and workingwomen evidence the concern which the Administration feels for the social betterment of our people. Vocational education has now become a fact under laws adopted by a Democratic Congress. It is gratifying to observe the manner in which the Treasury Department has been handled, the Liberty Loans floated and the credit of America strengthened. The State Department has maintained the high standard of American diplomacy and our international record in the period leading up to and during the war will constitute forever a glorious page of American history. Without exception, the other departments of the Government have likewise proved themselves to be efficient, constructive and progressive. All along the line, we have proof of a party keenly alive to the pressing questions of the hour and quick to apply the remedies needed for the development of our country and for the greater protection of our people. Whether measured by the accomplishments of peace, or the standards of war, the administration comes to the people rich in achievement and unsullied in honor.

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TO WHOM WILL THE COUNTRY LOOK FOR LEADERSHIP?

OUR purposes are not limited by the war. What we have accomplished thus far, both in the matter of war preparation and in domestic reform, serve as an indication of the spirit with which we will undertake the great problems of reconstruction which will follow the cessation of hostilities. Vocational training, already undertaken, must be further developed, having in mind not only the training of the youth of the country, but also with a view to the needs of those who have been injured or disabled in the war. We shall be confronted, in probably much changed aspect, with the question of employer and employee. It is highly essential that there shall be established a basis which shall make the recurring conflicts between capital and labor no longer a disturbing element in the life of America. The ultimate status of the public utilities and essential war industries taken over by the Government during the war period must be fixed and their relation to the life of our people must be determined. Foreign trade must be developed and the methods of taxation must come under the closest scrutiny. All the activities of our country must be freshened and renewed after this period of sacrifice and stress. It must be a stimulated, not an exploited, development. The best thought of America must be concentrated on this great business so that the future may afford an increasingly better lot for the generations yet unborn. This is the task to which America must address herself in the days of peace following this period of war. It is impossible that this great development can properly be conducted except under the most disinterested and intelligent leadership.

To whom will the country look for that leadership? Will it turn back to the discordant elements of the Republican party and to discredited and stationary statesmen who seek to reapply the processes of antiquity, or will the American people follow in the path blazed by our great President, and continue a purpose which has already brought us immeasurable advantage and which has so signally reaffirmed our faith in the democratic form of government? There can be but one sane answer to this question.

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IS LABOR BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT?

By DR. CHARLES A. EATON

[HEAD OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE SECTION OF THE EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION]

Dr. Eaton has just returned from a trip to the coast, through the great shipyards of America, accompanying Mr. Schwab and Mr. Piez. He defines the real attitude of labor in the shipbuilding industries toward the war.

NO one can understand the labor situation in America apart from the development of class consciousness. One of the foundation principles of American life is that all men are created free and equal. As our industrial development and our racial characteristics became more complex, we began to lose sight of this fundamental idea. There were imported from Europe class programs, class catch words, and class leaders. Capital organized on a class basis. Labor of necessity followed suit. The issue was sharply drawn. What was good for one was bad for the other.

Other class distinctions revealed themselves, based largely upon money, or the lack of it, and this all threatened the spiritual and social unity of the nation.

Then came the war; a war of peoples, rather than of governments. Our supreme question was, "Will labor and capital stand side by side in the common defense of their common country?" In other words, can we overcome class consciousness by substituting a national consciousness? Can we break away from class interests and devote our whole national life to national interests?

Capital has answered this question in the affirmative. Hundreds of thousands of young men from well to do families have given themselves to the defense of their country. Rich men have abandoned their business and are working in subordinate capacities to help the Government. An income tax of unheard of severity is being paid by the well to do classes without a murmer.

On the other hand, labor both organized and unorgan-

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ized has covered itself with imperishable honor by its attitude towards the war. Everywhere the working man has pledged his loyal service to the country. He, too, is sending his sons, or going himself into the Army and the Navy. Many of the questions for which organized labor has been fighting for a generation are voluntarily held in abeyance until we win the war.

The key to the winning of the war is—ships. Mr. Lloyd George has told us that even in the month of July, of the 300,000 American soldiers carried across the sea, 180,000 were transported on British ships. Without ships we could not win the war.

The Emergency Fleet Corporation, under the leadership of Mr. Schwab and Mr. Piez, is charged with the production of ships. It has let contracts, amounting to $3,800,000,000.00. In the month of June for the first time, the output of England and America in new ships surpassed the sinkings by the German submarines. In July, we made our first great stride forward past the mark, having produced more new tonnage than in any year before the war.

PERPLEXING LABOR PROBLEMS

AT the beginning there was a serious question as to whether the men would build ships. A scale of wages was adopted, higher than was ever paid for this class of work in the history of the world. For a time even this failed to produce the required result. Many men would work part of the time until they had received the amount of pay to which they had been accustomed in previous occupations. Then they would loaf the rest of the week. No one seemed to realize the terrible gravity of the situation.

This was the task assigned me by the Government; to educate these men of the shipyards as to their duty. To my great surprise I found the men open minded. They had not been thinking in national terms, only in class terms. All they needed was to know. Almost immediately a tide of enthusiasm began to set in throughout the shipyards. We organized a corps of trained speakers, returned soldiers and

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civilians. Great meetings were held in all the shipyards of the country; literature was distributed. The public press gave us their unqualified backing and the wheels turned faster every day.

Soon the men themselves began to take the matter in hand. The most unpopular man, next to a pro-German, in the shipyards is a slacker. In fact, as soon as he is detected, it is impossible for him to remain on the job. The output is increasing every hour. The spirit is improving day by day. Both management and men understand each other and trust each other as never before. Both are enlisted for one purpose; to win the war.

If I am asked, "Is labor with the Government in this war," I must answer truthfully, "yes."

There is still much discussion of old questions between the employers and the employees. The findings of the Macey War Labor Board are the subject of continuous discussions as to their application. Men are still fighting for proper conditions, for regulated hours and for the recognition of the Union. These disputes all stop short of interference with the building of ships.

Now that the Government finds the necessity of putting five millions of men under arms, our labor leaders realize that this changes the entire situation. We must postpone most of the questions over which we have been fighting until after the war is over and then there is a strong belief, growing stronger every day, that there will be so many new and vaster questions, that these old ones will have settled themselves.

The great spiritual miracle of a universal interest in war problems is sweeping away class problems in this and every other country.

We are not only fighting a war, we are re-building the American nation, upon a national basis and national ideals. We are seeking to establish a democracy which shall give a square deal to every man and every class of man; that shall have room in it for the big man and the little man, side by side.

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Money is not an issue in this war, so that there is no money class at work slowing down the spiritual awakening which is sweeping over the whole people.

A NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

THERE are no easy jobs left. Our task is to win the war and fighting is always hard, whether it be done by the second line of defense in the industrial plants, here at home, or by the first line with rifles in France.

Gradually our Government is evolving a national labor policy. Machinery for wage adjustment and for the handling of financial labor problems is being evolved and made efficient.

In England organized labor at the beginning of the war and organized capital met with their Government and perfected a policy for the period of the war. There was to be no profiteering either of capital or labor. Labor laid aside the issues for which it had fought for so long and the Government agreed that when the war was over to put labor back in the same position it had occupied when the war began. While this promise was made in good faith it is doubtful whether English labor will desire to be put back where the war found it.

In our country only a small percentage of labor is organized and capital is not organized upon a national scale. This made it impossible for our Government at the beginning to place all labor and all capital upon a national basis. That, however, is the objective towards which we are rapidly approaching, and both capital and labor are giving their cordial support to the Government in this effort.

These are fundamental facts that it has been difficult to explain to labor, difficult to present to them in understandable form. It has been my privilege and my personal pride to do my share in making these facts clear to the vast army of men in the great shipyards and industrial plants of this country. In July we spoke to over a million men. I was asked to find the souls of these men and to talk to them in their own interest, and it has been a labor of love on my part.

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The psychology of the temporary labor unrest some months ago in this country was very simple. Labor had not had its heart opened to the passions of national honor. I have been talking to workmen in open-air meetings for nearly a year, and I have seen them change from their former habits of thought. I have seen them feel their jobs, not merely do them. The man who is strong enough, skillful and sharp enough to perform any task of labor, is usually a man with a deep, primal appreciation of his fellowman. He measures men as he measures lumber, or iron, or steel, by the feel for quality in him. He is rarely mistaken. He weighs a man up and follows him through fire, once he is convinced of his honesty of motive. Labor is the soul of honor, and it has been expanded by the emergency of this war to the soul of national honor.

A LABORER WHO WAKES UP

I REMEMBER speaking to some thousands of men in Fore River a few months ago. It was the coldest day of the year, and the meeting was in a great shipyard. The men stood there, and listened half an hour. I talked to them about their duty to the nation, of their value to the war, of the lives of the men at the front which depended upon their labor over here. As I left the platform a giant workman barred my way. He just stood and glared at me. I thought he was going to knock me down.

"Well, what d'ye think you're looking at?" he shouted at me. There was menace in his tone, rage in his eyes.

"I should say, that you are a splendid specimen of American workmen," I said, "I should take you to be a representative labor man."

He seemed to struggle with himself for a second, his face grew red, the words tumbled pell mell in thick articulation.

"No I'm not, I'm nothing of the kind. I am just a d—— fool, that's what I am. Why until I heard you talk I didn't realize what my job meant. I've got two boys at the front, and, to think of it, I layed off three days last week. It just

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come to me, that them three days' lay-off may have meant the lives of them boys, my boys over there in France."

There were tears in his eyes, he was choking as a man does in dry sobs.

I was surprised by the flood tide of passion in his soul. I couldn't answer him. Abruptly he turned and strode away. As I watched his massive body stiffen and swell to the forces of his spirit he stopped and looked at me again. His face changed to the most radiant expression. His smile was like a burst of sunlight after the storm.

"All right, you just watch your uncle on the job from this time on," he shouted, as he raised his huge fist in the air, an instinctive gesture of allegiance to the great cause that had just dawned on him.

Singular as this instance may seem, it demonstrates the soul of labor as I have seen it and felt it in the great assembly of workmen. They need leadership, they need to be told what their jobs mean to the nation, not what they mean to themselves, or to the individual employer, or to their individual glory.

It is difficult to find men who can talk to them, men whom they will believe. They size a man up instantly. They either want to listen to him, or they don't want to, and there's no compromise.

HOW MR. SCHWAB IS RECEIVED BY LABOR

IN the recent trip to the coast which I took with Mr. Schwab, Mr. Piez, and others, we visited the shipyards of the Pacific Coast. We all talked to the men, held conferences, saw parades, and listened to pledges of extraordinary unanimity of war feeling against Germany. There were no formalities, no white collars or silk hats to adorn these occasions. The men came down to the station in their working clothes, the dirt on their faces, their bands playing us into town.

"Hello, Charlie, we're with you—you'll get the ships all right, Charlie—don't worry!"

So they yelled and cheered, and hurrahed as soon as Mr.

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Schwab came into sight. He has two marvellous qualities that stick out all over him. He has the supreme magnetism of a man who is enjoying his job, and he is all American from head to foot. He speaks the language of work; because he is afire with the impulse, the dignity, the joyousness of the work. His enthusiasm is for the job, with the man who is doing the job. And he believes that there is only one job left for any man to do, and that is the American job that wins the war. He is a wonderful leader, and he has done more to interpret the national impulse for labor, than any other one man in the country.

Mr. Piez is, too, a man of extraordinary gifts and is trusted by managers and men as the soul of justice and square dealing. In a conversational tone he will hold a mass meeting of workmen in hushed silence, while he talks to them in quiet, statistical fashion, giving them information of solid character and explaining the machinery for winning the war, of which they form a part.

Our first journey was among the shipyards of the Great Lakes. We went to Cleveland. I have lived there a good deal, and I know the place. There are a great many Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians living there. There is a great deal of foreign blood from the Central Powers in Cleveland. Unquestioned enthusiasm for the Government prevailed at the public meeting. The loyalty of labor in Cleveland was publicly pledged to the Government representatives in the presence of the shipyard workers themselves.

PATRIOTISM IN THE SHIPYARDS

CAPITAL stood on the platform with us, as did labor, each pledged to the emergency of increased production. At private conferences where differences were discussed, there were no distinctions of class. The labor representatives attended the meeting in their shirt sleeves, with capital sitting opposite, while the Government listened, and argued with them. The issue was not money, or a better job; the issue was how much faster could ships be launched and how loyally would the work be done in the future. We attended banquets

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at which the most violent attacks on Kaiserism and the German menace were made in the language of labor aroused to indignation, made by men with German names, of German ancestors. We went to Toledo, Elyria, Detroit, and found the same enthusiasm, the same industry, the same patriotism in the shipyards.

On the Pacific Coast, labor was the first to understand, to adopt the principles of war. There was more enthusiasm there than on the Atlantic Coast in the first months of our Declaration of War. In San Francisco, where labor is universally unionized, we received a tremendous ovation. The streets were lined with throngs of people as we went from the station to the shipyards. As we watched one huge ship slip down the ways, the keel of its successor would be lifted into place.

At one shipyard as Mr. Schwab and the rest of us stepped upon the platform in the yard, the men began to walk away. Mr. Schwab jumped to his feet, and immediately began to tell a funny story. They came back slowly, stopped, then with loud laughter and applause, massed themselves in front of "Charlie." Before we left this shipyard they pledged themselves to work unceasingly, not to strike, to devote themselves to the will of the Nation in winning the war.

From California, we went to Portland, Oregon, with its New England settlers, its temperament of conservative homeliness, its culture, and its New England tastes.

In Portland a prominent labor leader stood on the platform, and in the presence of the workmen, publicly pledged the labor of the shipyard to the support of the Government. It was an impressive moment, when he read aloud the short, simple pledge of loyalty endorsed by these thousands of workers. But, it was in Portland we received the only shock of the trip. Just as we were stepping on the platform there, a telegram was handed to Mr. Schwab stating that 3,000 of the men in the shipyards of Oakland had walked out. This, in spite of their pledge to us. Mr. Piez immediately telegraphed them, so did Mr. Schwab, with the result that they returned to work.

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In Seattle, where the elements of San Francisco blend with those of Portland, there was the same enthusiasm, the same unanimous understanding of our National war policy was declared.

We returned from this eventful survey of the workmen in the shipyards with a conviction that there was no need for anxiety concerning the enormous ship productions of this country.

Labor is united. It is awake to the soul of our National life. It will stick in a body till we win the war.

And we shall win it !

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MOTHERING THE BOY AT THE FRONT

From Coffee and Cocoa to Razor Blades and Pins. All in the Day's Work by the Salvation Army Close to the Battle Line in France

By EVANGELINE BOOTH
[COMMANDER OF THE SALVATION ARMY IN AMERICA]

EVOLUTION in war methods and conditions has brought us to the proposition that war-relief workers, as underwriters of the morale of fighters, constitute a war necessity. They might perhaps, as they toil back of the line, imparting that invisible something to a man that makes him eligible to victory, be referred to as the "last line of defense." For, as I see it, when the hour shall come that war-relief workers are not needed, when their presence upon a battlefield will not be tolerated or desired, that will be the black hour when our last defense will be crumpled up, and when victory will have perched upon our antagonist's banner.

As long ago as the Boer War, when the business of killing men and destroying property had not been reduced to the exact science to which the autocrats of Berlin have brought it, the Salvation Army of Great Britain received its baptism of fire with the troops of the Crown. It was found that military discipline went just so far—but did not fill that aching void in every man's heart and stomach which, when duly displaced, made a new man of him! From that day to the present, fighting forces of Europe have been trained to the idea that "morale," which war-workers can best sustain, is greater in importance for the purposes of winning a war than even bullets or projectiles. And all this for the reason that first came the man who must fire the ammunition—then came the ammunition. Unless the man is all courage, and all hope, and fairly well at ease in his brain and physical well-

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being, he has already been tabbed with the ear-marks of defeat. Hence, war-workers and hutments.

Less than two weeks from the day that Germany opened fire on little Belgium, letting loose her destructive agencies, smashing a peaceful little nation into smithereens, and then reeling as in a drunken debauch through the misery of that brave, ever-resisting people, the Salvation Army moved in to the defense of the downtrodden at the side of the troops of Great Britain. Almost with the first American troops to take the field, as a result of the united request of the Army Chaplains, and with the endorsement of General Pershing, the Salvation Army workers began our work in France. To-day, with all the Allied armies we have more than 900 workers, 46 ambulances with Salvation Army drivers and more than 500 huts and hostels, and our organization—and this is a conservative estimate—has been of direct aid to more than 25,000,000 men. We are serving over 300,000 men per week and our ambulances and stretcher service has cared for more than 60,000 men.

Our workers are chiefly women, although we have men workers over military age or incapable of service because of some physical defect. Our women workers are all thoroughly trained in our work at home before going into the field; that they are efficient is abundantly proved by the regard in which they are held by the fighting men. And this work is thoroughly practical. Wherever a hutment is set up—and a Salvation Army hutment may be sheltered in an abandoned farm building, in a deserted and possibly shell-ridden house, in a dugt-out, a tent, or a hastily thrown together hut—our work takes on immediately the highly practical aspect of cooking pies and doughnuts for the hungry soldiers. It is nothing for us to serve 250 pies and 2000 doughnuts a day. In many other ways we try to give immediate practical help. Our expenses are reduced to a minimum since our workers receive no compensation whatever. Their transportation is paid and they draw food and clothing from the Quartermasters' Department of the army. We are at present working on a plan to pay these women $4 a week when they are

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mustered out in order that they may have a little leisure to economically adjust themselves.

MOTHERING THE MEN AT THE FRONT

THE public in America, when giving to war fund drives, should know and remember many things. It should know there is no possible rivalry between organizations for mercy over there. To begin with, the military authorities assign all the organizations to zones, and design where huts can be placed, and there is therefore no overlapping. There is no possible chance for duplication. If all the splendid organizations now working for the troops in France were to be multiplied by twenty-five over night, they would not then begin to serve the fringe of that mighty legion of men who make up the army of the Allies!

The organizations form vital cogs in a great machine, and they work in harmony and with full understanding, each doing its allotted part and each standing ready to help the other. And after all there is but one judge competent or entitled to pass a binding opinion on the work and the workers, and that is—the man in the trench. If you ever are in doubt, consult him. Write one of them. That answer is the last word you could ask upon the subject. We need no other recommendation. That word would come from the man for whom it is all being done!

The Salvation Army does not ask or expect any pay for the hot coffee and cocoa it serves to the men in the night on sentinel duty, or as they come up in the pitch dark with ammunition trains, etc. We would give away all of our stuff, including candy, razor blades, and fruit when it is obtainable, thread, pins, and the many other trifles which grow to be important over there, if we could only get them for nothing! No soldier, no regiment of soldiers, without pay perhaps for a time at the front, has ever been refused credit in our huts and never will be. They can buy without money even as with money, and they know that we will do this until we come to the end of our string. Knowing it, they do not abuse it. Americans at the front are real men!

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All troop movements are under cover of darkness of course, and that is why our workers are out so much at night serving hot coffee and sandwiches to the men. When there are no troop or ammunition train movements and the men are in the huts, they jam us, as a rule, to the doors and then they read, write, play innocent games, sing, enjoy music—such as we have to offer, have their clothes mended, or dried, or even washed, or perhaps they will join in a prayer meeting!

WE PAUSE TO PRAY EACH DAY

ON the point of religion I want to say that while it is our plan and undoubted mission to save souls as well as to sustain and save lives, yet we obtrude religion upon nobody. We pause to pray each day—true. If the men care to join they do. They are obliged to do nothing. They do sing with us and many of them raise their hands for prayer. I know the people of America would be astonished if they could hear of the thousands of men who, since reaching the trenches, and looking over into No Man's Land, have of their own volition decided to get better acquainted with God without further delay. The Salvation Army is non-sectarian, and we know no creed or no race. We know only the teachings of Jesus Christ, and that every human being belongs to the flock, and should be in the fold. We know better than to bother men about religion at the front. When the time comes they want to lead righteous, careful lives, they let us know quickly enough. Good, pure women toiling with them in the mud and danger have an effect upon them, sure enough. It gives the most careless of them pause. It prompts men to come to us just before they go over the top, impart their little secrets, leave last messages, have a little prayer perhaps, place a bundle of little old trinkets in our hands, and then fare forth to do or die! If they do—and come back, the trinkets are restored and the matter is blotted out. If they do not come back, then we may have to plod out into the arid deserts of Arizona to deliver a silver watch to some old mother, with the word that her boy died in the faith of Jesus Christ, loving his

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country and her, and true to his fellowmen even as to his God! That's what our work means!

So great has come the general volume of our responsibilities, in this regard, that we have had to provide a special warehouse service in Paris, with a clerical system that carefully checks each item in motion until it is finally disposed of.

Why are fighters by the thousands deluging the daily and weekly press of America today, through their parents, with letters praising the Salvation Army? Because we are of them—with them—and serving them with zeal and in honest determination to help them and not to annoy them. They know that "service" is the watchword over there with us. They are perfectly splendid to us, there where the shells are falling all about and where human life is held so cheaply by the invader! At last they have come to understand the Salvation Army!

We asked for one million dollars in our last war-fund drive in this country, and up to the latest announced reports we had been given $2,367,544. It shows that the people believe in us, and in our ability to spend money wisely, sensibly and effectively. It shows that the mothers and fathers of America want us right there with their boys, in the worst of it, and in the thick of it, cheering, consoling, and doing the things they would do if they could get there. Sailors, even as soldiers, are receiving our attention. We seek only to do our part, and to do it well. We help all the drives of recognized organizations as they come along, and we shall hope in turn to be helped by them in the future. Our references? The average men in the trenches—the military authorities at headquarters—President Wilson and Secretary Baker.

KEEPING THE HOME FIRES BURNING

THE soldiers seem tremendously interested nowadays in saving for their relations in America all they can, and they refer with pride to the insurance they have taken out. That they are not spendthrifts, and that they are constantly thinking of their folks at home, is shown by a cablegram re-

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ceived the other day by Commissioner Estill at our headquarters in Chicago from the Salvation Army headquarters in France, ordering that the sum of $7,012 cash be paid out at once to relatives from men in the trenches.

This sum represents but one day of savings or deposits at hutments by soldiers, who commission the Salvation Army women to handle the details of a transfer for them. Some are paying to aged fathers and mothers, some to wives, and some even to sweethearts, many of course sending money for Liberty Bonds. If there were no war, and if we had a million men in Europe looking things over from a business standpoint, and not even bent upon pleasure, there would still be no such systematic and persistent disposition to be frugal and thrifty as the present situation has developed.

Whenever money is entrusted to a Salvationist, a proper receipt is given, and a book entry made, and forthwith some one of our workers has to gather up the many items and rush them to Col. William Barker, our highly capable representative over there for the work we are doing among American troops. There is no charge asked or collected for such a service, and we are glad to send the cablegrams at our own expense.

I have mentioned the list for just one day—the list that aggregated over $7,000. When you consider that the remittances are all small ones, and that they go to very many people, and that this is but one day out of the 365 in a year, a great deal of money is being sent home by the troops. And if the Salvation Army, which is not the largest organization in the world, is doing this volume of transfer work for the fighters, what must be the grand total per day when one considers the other mighty organizations also working over there for the uplift and weal of the American soldier and sailor!

The amounts run from $25 to $100 and the senders range from doughboys to majors. We gladly serve them all. One sergeant sent $1,000 to a lady in Alma, Ill. A private came next—a mere boy—who had saved up $600, and he sent it all to his mother in Kennett, Mo. In that general region, our records show that about $10,000 a week is now being sent by

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fighters to their folks. And there we have one of the few outcropping advantages that arise from a *red war!*

LOOKING AFTER THE BOYS' INTEREST OVER HERE

THE time consumed in these transactions is usually not more than forty-eight hours. We like to make delivery wherever possible by our own uniformed members and with some direct and personal message from the soldier boy to whoever he is sending money to. It is this human connection that makes the recipient all the happier, and the money all the more appreciated. If we can say to an old mother, " Mrs. Smith, this remittance is from your son William, whom our hutment workers saw day before yesterday, when he was perfectly well and as happy as a lark, excepting that he longs for you! He sent you his love and wants you to write him again right away," then we feel our service has been doubly effective and worth while. Not infrequently, in delivering remittances and words of love and cheer, we are apt to stumble upon some condition that warrants our proffering aid to the old mother or father, and we do it then and there without hesitation, on behalf of the lad with whom we are in contact on the other side.

May I not ask the mothers of America, by this means, to lean upon the Salvation Army as heavily as they desire, in this crisis? Who knows but that the very boy you worry about and dote upon and love, is in our care every day and every night? Who knows but that we are passing out to him pies like you used to make and sugared doughnuts, and talking to him at the same time of you? Who knows but that we are mending his clothes, telling him what a wonderful thing it is to be a man of God-fearing qualities, and perhaps gently interesting him in the Bible while still sewing up a tear in his shirt? Ah—wars are the destroyers of nations, rulers, and peoples, but it seems that in the fire of it all we are perhaps chastened! Never are the waters of the seas so pure as after the storm.

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TO THE LAST HEART-BEAT

By STÉPHANE LAUZANNE

[EDITOR IN CHIEF OF THE PARIS MATIN; MEMBER OF THE FRENCH COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES]

IN October, 1916, a few days before sailing for the United States, I visited a public school in a small French village.

In the boys' class, on a table, in front of a small eight-year-old, a history book lay open at the page of the American War of Independence.

Curiosity seized me to know what such a child could think of the United States. So I asked him:

"What do you think of America?"

The reply came quickly:

"America," said the small boy, "is the only country in the world with which we have never fought!"

The child's ingenuous reply was accurate as a matter of fact: between America and France there has never been the smallest quarrel, or the slightest disagreement. Better still: throughout history we have an infinity of points in common. We were conquering our interior liberty at the very time America was conquering her exterior liberty. We have always had the same ideal of independence, the same passion for democracy. And we have the same colors for our flag.

At the very outset of this terrible war, which France did not wish, for which she did not prepare and in which all she did was to straighten up when she was assaulted, it was a saddening thought for the French that for two years America, a country of ideals, did not seem to realize that France was fighting for an ideal that is common to all humanity. And today it is our deepest joy, our most glorious pride, to see the United States soldiers in the cause of right, fighting side by side with us for that right.

I often hear Americans say: "We are going to pay the debt we incurred a hundred and forty years ago." And my reply is always the same:

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"No; in the first place we are too much like brothers to stand with regard to one another in the position of a creditor towards his debtor, and in the second place, you owe us no debt. But towards humanity, towards liberty, towards the civilization, that has made you the great human, free and civilized people that you are, you have a debt. And that debt you are now paying."

BROTHERS IN THE TRENCHES

ALL those who, for the last three months, have seen American and French regiments fighting side by side on the battlefields of France, whether it happened to be in Lorraine, or on the Somme, or on the Marne, have been struck by their extraordinary similarity: the same good humor, the same quick mind, the same disposition to make the best of any given situation, the same ardor in battle, the same high spirits. The French poilus have bestowed on their American comrades praise which, in their minds, is the highest of all praise.

"In the trenches," the poilus say, "the American soldiers are as dirty as we are."

Perhaps it is a fact that the American boys are as dirty as the French poilus. It is a difficult matter to be perfectly clean when day after day and night after night one lives in the mud; it is quite a problem to be exquisitely groomed when one's present job is to kill—and to kill unceasingly. But that job is a sacred one to-day if we want humanity and civilization to be safe; it will be a necessary one as long as the Germans fail to understand that they must give up their brutal dream of supremacy. The fact that the American boys are as dirty as the French poilus proves that they are putting the same hand to the same piece of work; no greater compliment could be paid them.

A year ago, when Joffre and Viviani were going through the United States, they were welcomed at the entrance of the University of Chicago by the president of that University, who told them: "We are brothers in the same cause. For

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that cause you shall have our last man, and the last beating of our hearts."

It was nobly spoken, and these generous words shall one day be engraved in bronze.

Yes, to the last man and to the last heart-beat, so that free nations shall live free under the flag of liberty. To the last man and to the last heart-beat, so that our children and the children of our children may enjoy in peace the blessing of the sun, without having to fear a return of similar horrors. To the last man and to the last heart-beat until victory is won; and that victory will not be the victory of a people: it will be the victory of an ideal—of the ideal of right, of justice, of humanity and of civilization.

SAN FRANCISCO TO FRANCE

By ELEANOR PRESTON WATKINS

I, TOO, returned to threshholds desolate,
Where yesterday earthquake and ruin passed;
And saw, beyond a black, flame-twisted gate,
Nothing but piled-up rubble, stark, aghast.
Four splintered steps led up to nothingness
(Home-seeking hearts once leapt to climb them so!)
Charred trunks of trees stood sentinel, comfortless,—
O! Francois, brother of mine, I know! I know!

But grass has grown again, and gardens fair,
New trees, and placid homes from hill to hill.
A crumbling wall remains, the only scar.
So in your blood-soaked ground the roots shall stir,
When peace shall come, and there is no more war.
The immortal seed of hope they cannot kill!

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HAS THE WAR STIFLED MUSIC?

By ENRICO CARUSO

Note: The opinions of the greatest tenor in the world, which means a man who has spent his life in the study of music, become authoritative upon a subject that concerns musical art. This article contains the first expression that Mr. Caruso has made of a serious nature since the war. Mr. Caruso does not write articles in English. In fact, he does not write for publication at all, but this article has been read and approved as his own view.

THERE has not been any great music written since the war. There will be none, because war is the terrific discord, the world horror. Out of the ruins of towns, of mangled humanity, of deserted fields and vineyards, there remains only grief in silence. All beauty is crushed out of the heart, in its place is sublime courage and death. Such things are not for music. Music is the wisdom, the passion, the soul of beauty.

How can the war inspire music?

Of all the arts music is the most sensitive, and the most frank. In painting, in writing, in poetry, there is a subtlety of expression that is in the artist's own interpretation. Music is all the art assembled in open conference with nature. The war can be caught, to some degree, by painters, by writers, poets, but not by musicians. War stifles music, it crushes it, makes it indifferent, even neglectful of its own inspiration. There is only one inspired force upon which music thrives, and that is beauty.

The so-called war music which has been written since the beginning of the war, has been negligible. There have been a number of war songs which have become popular in the camps, there has been some military music material, and some sentimental words set to music as in the former ballads, which have had a war feeling in them. But in the larger view of music which we are now considering, these are not an ex-

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pression of war in music. There will be no musical interpretation of the war.

The great composers of contemporaneous life, are most of them beyond military age. Such men as Puccini, Leon Covello, Mascagni, are beyond the military age. The younger composers, the rising generation of musical ambition, of course are in service. But, there has been an unwritten law among the allied nations to preserve the art of music from the destructive elements of war. These young composers have been placed on military duty of more or less safety to themselves. This has been done with the purpose of preserving music as one of the greatest influences upon the future of world happiness.

It is significant that the theme of grand operas, of ballads, songs, and concert music, has never been war. It has been love, melancholy, regret, hope, sorrow, but never horror. Music speaks only upon beautiful themes, of which war is not.

The second act of the one war opera that comes to my mind, "Francesca da Rimini" was never a great success. In this opera an effort was made to show the war time of the middle centuries. This was a period of history when invading armies were scalded by great floods of boiling water poured upon them from above, when huge stones were hurled at them from parapets, when the bow and arrow, the javelin, the spear were the instruments of warfare. It has never been a pleasing form of amusement to operatic audiences. The music failed to inspire either happiness, hope, or horror. Of course, there have been moments in celebrated grand operas when the war thought was injected. This has usually been consistent with a story entirely apart from war. Military marches have been injected, military choruses, a soldier song —but these were a small part of inspired musical themes of the opera itself.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONAL MUSIC

I BELIEVE, that at the beginning of the war in 1914, the United States spent three times as much money for music as for armament. It was estimated that the United States

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devoted $600,000,000 a year to music, whereas Germany gave ten times as much for what is called National Defense. It is obvious that Americans are music lovers, and that their chief contributions to music have been of the popular order. The beginnings of musical expression in the United States is shown in national songs. "The Star Spangled Banner" was the first stirring declaration of American music. The story of its composition on board a battleship during the siege of Fort McHenry is no doubt responsible for many subsequent attempts to make the music melodramatic. As a matter of fact, it is far from that. It was first printed in Baltimore, and first sung by about twenty volunteer soldiers in front of the Holliday Street Theatre. Ferdinand Durong was the first soloist to sing the Star Spangled Banner, a Frenchman. There is another authentic story of the birth of the Star Spangled Banner, which confirms the thought that war music, or music affiliated with war sentiment, is an emotional discovery of the moment. The words, written by Francis Key were read aloud several times to a division of soldiers who were electrified by its patriotic eloquence. It was then that Ferdinand Durong hunted up a volume of flute music which was in one of the tents, whistled snatches of the tunes, and finally hit upon one called "Anacreon in Heaven." It struck his fancy, and he fitted the tune to the words. This was the first time the Star Spangled Banner was sung.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL "WAR SONG" NOT MARTIAL

OF the numerous songs that have acquired a great vogue during war times, one thinks immediately of "Tipperary." The words have absolutely nothing to do with war, they sound no patriotic note. They reflect simply a rollicking, naive wistfulness, and, there is no taint of vulgarity in the words. There is no affected bad grammar. It is merely an Irishman in London giving vent to his longing to get back to "Tipperary," and especially "to the sweetest girl" he knows. The sentiment is "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me" combined. Strangely enough of the millions who sing the refrain, very few have any knowledge

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of the words which tell the narrative of the song. It is very singable. It is born of an intimacy with the music hall audience, something perhaps which our best composers do not attempt. One of the authors, although born in Birmingham, England, is a true Irishman. It was first published in 1912.

There is no especial mystery in the success of these war affiliations with music, because it is after all, the universal language. The greater successes in composition have not come to those who studied it as an exact science, but chiefly to those whose emotions it stirs, to those who find its appeal to their hearts. Of course, instrumental music is the highest, the most perfect form of the language of music. Patriotic music has always had the widest appeal. The followers of King David proved the triumphs of music, for the son of Jesse drove out Saul's evil spirit by playing upon the harp. It was he who fascinated a nation when he sang his psalms.

THE ALLIED NATIONAL ANTHEMS

"AMERICA," "God Save the King," "The Italian Royal March," "The Hymn of Garibaldi," "The Marseillaise" have stirred hundreds of thousands. Such music has been played by massed bands of twenty regiments to the wild cheering of a hundred thousand people. The effect of a great volume of sound, of diatonic melody is to stir every emotion of ardent loyalty and patriotism of which human beings are capable. Of course, there is one other form of patriotic influence in music, and that is the effect of a single voice, say like Adelina Patti's singing "Home, Sweet Home" before many thousands of silent people. Into such an event one must take into account the exquisitely beautiful tones of the singer, the incomparable art, the singer's personal imagination, all of which complete the miracle. No doubt, music is the kindling, inspiring touch of war—before and after. But, there is no interpretation of war possible in music. Music is the most abstract of the arts. It expresses the moods of nature, rather than the reason. Moods are the elusive faculties of nature, brilliant or sad, in gaiety of song

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or in murmur of reverie, in tremendous strain of passion, in triumph or despair.

"The Marseillaise" was the song of the revolution of France. It was written in times of stress when a race, no matter how civilized, becomes elemental, when it puts aside reason and restraint, when it harks back to days of savagery. Of all the anthems of war, "The Marseillaise" stands out for the effect it has had on the destinies of the French nation. It was written in the province of Alsace-Lorraine. It was sung in Paris first, in 1792, and it is now sung on the battlefields of northern France with as much enthusiasm and force as it was then.

The national air of Belgium is "La Brabanconne." It was composed by a Belgian, F. Campenhout. In Belgium it is suppressed, but it is often sung in the quiet of a night by the soldiers in the rear lines of Belgium battlefields.

Japan's entry into the war projects the value of the Japanese national anthem. It is more or less barbaric. It is called "Kimi Ga Yo." It is perhaps interesting to quote the lines of this Japanese war song:

"May our Emp'ror's reign endure,
When a thousand ages more
Are grown old, myriad fold;
Like sand grains, in firm rock massed,
Changeless last; bearing moss of ages past."

United Italy sings "Garibaldi's Hymn." It is a stirring song, a martial one. The music inspires a place in the heart of every son of Italy.

SONGS OF THE MARCHING MEN

NO matter how intense and highly colored any music may be, it is compelled to express above all, general emotion, moods, passion. Only in great patriotic compositions, are moods forgotten for the single passion of triumph. The popularity, or one might say the vitality, of a successful composition in music is a secret which neither composers, critics, or publishers have definitely discovered. It is like genius, it refuses to be defined. Frequently an old favorite will find

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his way into the tramping hordes of soldiers. For instance, "Annie Laurie" goes straight to the heart, and the British army sang it all through the Crimean War. Your own Civil War songs are destined to immortality; at least two of them. They are "Dixie" and "Glory Hallalujah." Of course, there are other favorite American songs that are distinctively appealing. "Old Folks at Home" is one of them. "Nellie Bly," "Old Dog Tray," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," "Marching Through Georgia," and "The Battle Cry of Freedom" are among the others.

There is in these folk songs of intense popularity, the fundamental interest allied to any great national crisis, such as war. Modern music still remains, to a great extent, a hidden treasure for the general public, which is certain that there is no medium between musical classics and ragtimes. The performances given at the Metropolitan Opera House have, of course, been highly educational; therefore, the entire blame cannot rest entirely with the public in general. The music of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway has, until quite recently, been entirely neglected. Of the three countries whose music has just begun to be known in America, the Swedish music is the least popular. That is because it is of a more classical nature. The Scandinavian folk songs are the most brilliant, the most rugged.

The music of the future will neither lose by the war nor gain by it. The great composers of the present generation are for the moment silent, waiting, as all the world is waiting, for some great hour of triumph upon which they can establish victorious music.

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WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

Labor profiteering has been charged in war industrial work. Man-power has continually sought a "living wage." These are questions that are falling under Government observation and investigation.

ON July 20 there were strikes in more than three hundred and fifty important machine shops in the State of New Jersey. There were a great many other strikes throughout the country, walk-outs which involved shipbuilding as well as numerous other industries doing war work.

On that same date, July 20, the announcement was made as a result of a most careful investigation of conditions in Bridgeport, Conn., where the principal industries include making rifles and ammunition, that the cost of living in that city had increased 61.4 per cent. during the past three years.

On the other hand it was shown that wages had increased, since 1915, in Bridgeport, 81 per cent.

The laboring man in Bridgeport, Conn., was 19.6 per cent better off on July 20, 1918, than he was on July 20, 1915.

Bridgeport is not an exception. I cite it first because labor in that city is in the throes of a battle with the Government for yet a considerable increase, shorter hours, and general recognition of the Union—a war-sought advantage not possible in peace times.

Labor leaders have sturdily maintained the patriotism of labor. They have, at the same time, constantly pointed out the ever increasing cost of food, fuel, clothes, rentals, amusements and sundries—all included under the general term "Cost of living."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States

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Department of Labor has compiled tables showing the weekly earnings in all industries in the State of New York, up to March of this year. In ten of the most important industries they show the following increase in wages:

INCREASE IN WEEKLY WAGES

	March 1917	March 1918
Machinists	$18.07	$21.07
Firearms	17.22	21.73
Electrical	17.43	21.05
Shipbuilding	20.97	24.37
Wood working	12.80	15.55
Chemicals	16.19	18.00
Paper	16.08	19.69
Textiles	12.13	14.60
Meat packing	16.68	19.57
Rolling mills	23.53	27.95
Total weekly earnings ten men	$171.10	$203.62

This gave the men a weekly increase in wages for this year over last year of approximately 19 per cent.

Having taken the wages in ten important industries into consideration, let us go into the details of the prices of ten of the most staple foods, comparing the figures of June, 1918, with the figures of June, 1917. These figures are compiled for the Educational Division of the United States Food Administration by the same investigators and statisticians as compiled the wage figures given in the preceding table, the United States Department of Labor. The ten most important foods given herewith are from a list of twenty-six varieties:

Commodity	Unit	June, 1917	June, 1918
Sirloin steak	lb.	$0.328	$0.426
Ham	lb.	.391	.465
Fowls	lb.	.288	.376
Eggs	doz.	.409	.425
Butter	lb.	.469	.511
Flour	⅛ bbl.	1.937	1.642
Potatoes	pk.	.960	.435
Sugar	lb.	.093	.091
Canned salmon	lb.	.263	.295
Rice	lb.	.108	.125
Totals		$5.282	$4.791

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SMALL AVERAGE INCREASE IN COST OF FOOD

THESE figures show that one pound each of sirloin steak, ham, fowl, butter, sugar, canned salmon and rice and one dozen eggs, one peck of potatoes and one-eighth of a barrel of flour cost forty-nine and one-tenth cents *less* in June of this year than they cost in June 1917!

This is a *decrease* of about 9⅛ per cent in the cost of ten staple foods this year over last.

The reason of the astonishing results—cheaper food this year than a year ago, as shown in this table—is due to the fact that potatoes and flour were both much higher last year. The prices of the twenty-six foods, selected as staple by the Government, for this June and June, 1917, are:

Cost of twenty-six foods, June, 1917	$9.077
Cost of the same foods, June, 1918	9.188

The New York State scale of wages is a conservative one for the country, since comparatively little war work is being done in the State, as the great shipyards, steel plants, arms and munition factories are largely in other localities. Official food figures show that a dozen eggs, loaf of bread, peck of potatoes, eighth of a barrel of flour and one pound each of twenty-one other different foods cost, in the aggregate, eleven and one-tenth cents more this June than they did one year ago!

Some of these quantities of food like bread and meat, are not sufficient for the week's food. On the other hand, many of them, like the peck of potatoes, eighth of a barrel of flour, and the like, are sufficient for considerably more than a week. It is safe to say that the $9.18 worth of food is a week's supply.

This is an increase of one and a fraction per cent in the cost of twenty-six staple foods over last year. The actual increase reads: 1.007 per cent.

The ten men employed in the divisions of labor whose wages increased approximately 19 per cent a week this year over last are, then, about 18 per cent better off. That is,

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their "net profits above living expenses" have increased about 18 per cent.

The issue raised in Bridgeport by the metal trades, whose men, employed on war work, went on strike, was that increased wages were necessary because of the increased cost of living. "We must have a living wage," was their slogan. No one disputed it. And if it were true that they were not receiving a living wage there could be no argument about it—more money would be necessary. However, an investigation was started through the efforts of the Manufacturer's Club of Bridgeport. No person residing in Bridgeport or attached to any Bridgeport industry was a member of the statistics committee that made the investigation and no compensation in any form was paid for the work. There could be no charges that the investigators were "hired by the manufacturers" or that they were personally, directly or indirectly interested in the outcome.

It was found, as briefly mentioned at the beginning of this article, that while the cost of living had increased 61.4 per cent in that city, wages had increased 81 per cent. But many more interesting things were found. The investigation included twenty-three great industries, many of them the largest of their kind in the world, and although the corporation names do not indicate it, a great share were doing war work. These concerns included the American & British Mfg. Co., American Chain Co., American Tubing Co., Bullard Machine Tool Co., Locomobile Co., Remington Arms, Remington U. M. C., Singer Mfg. Co., etc. The total employes numbered 34,000. About 4,000 of these being women. Thirty-three different occupations were involved. Here are some of the findings of the committee:

	Per Cent
Cost of living increased	61.4
Weekly wages increased	81.0
Weekly earnings of males increased	78.0
Weekly earnings of females increased	87.0
Hourly earnings of males increased	72.0
Hourly earnings of females increased	99.4
Hours of male labor increased	3.6
Hours of female labor *decreased*	6.5

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WAGES GREATLY EXCEED LIVING EXPENSES

THESE figures cover a period from January, 1915, to June, 1918, and were given to the National War Labor Board to assist it in the adjudication of Bridgeport's labor dispute. In determining the cost of living the investigating committee covered practically everything under four heads, food, housing, fuel and light and "other," the latter representing clothes, amusements, reading matter and other items that have become so necessary in these times. Compiling the figures on food and wages alone would have been unfair, since other items than food have increased more rapidly in some instances than food.

The State of New York's own Bureau of Statistics presents some interesting facts and figures in relation to wages and living expenses. Its latest detailed report is for May of this year, and covers 1,648 firms employing 617,000 men and women who are earning weekly more than $12,000,000.

May wages, 1918, increased 3% over April wages, 1918.
May, 1918, wages increased 27% over May, 1917, wages.
May, 1918, wages increased 52% over May, 1916, wages.
May, 1918, wages increased 98% over May, 1915 wages.

There has not been a month since June, 1914, in the State of New York when the increase in wages did not exceed the increase in the cost of living!

The cost of living in Chicago has increased about 66 per cent, it is estimated. This figure seems to prevail in most localities, and has been quoted by Government investigators and statisticians as a fair estimate of this increase since 1914 throughout the country. It includes more than food, of course, embracing rents, fuel, clothing and miscellaneous expenses.

One of Chicago's biggest industries is meat packing, as all the world knows. This is not skilled labor. Probably no other industry of the size and importance of meat packing and with such an army of workmen, employs so few really skilled laborers. The meat packers have met the "living wage" question by increase after increase, without request from the laborers. Then came requests for greater in-

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creases, and the eight-hour day went into effect. Swift and Company is the largest of the Chicago meat packers. This is the situation today at the Swift plant in Chicago:

Increase in wages since 1914..... 109 per cent.
Increase in the Chicago cost of living since 1914 66 per cent.

The net increase over the cost of living to the thousands of meat packers appears to be 43 per cent over 1914. What this concern has done for labor, other meat packing concerns have done.

There is as much, if not more, war work going on in Detroit as in any other city. Detroit has grown in a most astounding manner. It had to, to keep pace with the automobile industry. There are 35,000 employed in the Ford plant now. Five thousand are in the service. The output reached 4,000 cars a day. It has been reduced to 1,200 a day. It may be reduced still more. Nearly three-quarters of the work in motor and shipbuilding plants is engaged in war work now, such as U-boat chasers, tanks, Liberty Motors, Liberty Motor cylinders, gun caissons and other lines. Another plant—the Lincoln Motor Company—devoted entirely to war work, costing $11,000,000, has been put up, and every automobile engine and body concern has cut down its production of cars to take up aeroplane and munition war work. Detroit's population is 800,000. She has a greater number, pro rata, of wage earners, as distinguished from salaried men, than any other city.

CONDITIONS GOOD IN WAR-WORK CITIES

OF wage and cost of living conditions in Detroit, Mr. William Stocking, statistician for the Detroit Board of Commerce, says:

> "An examination of the prices of twenty-seven standard articles of table use show increases in the price of twenty-three within the past year and decreases in the price of four. The average cost of food increase for the year is 15 per cent.
>
> "The city price for common labor has increased 33 per cent within a year, although the price actually paid in the factories began to advance longer ago than that. In some lines of skilled labor the increase in wages has been 35 to 40 per cent."

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William N. Kessel, assistant secretary of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, accepts the Government figures of a 66 per cent increase in the general cost of living over that of three years ago as holding good in Buffalo, the home of the Curtiss aeroplane factory, the Pierce Arrow, and other large war working concerns. He says:

> "Buffalo has an unusually large number of plants devoting their entire, or nearly entire, effort to the production of war materials. A survey which we recently made showed approximately seventy plants engaged directly or indirectly in making war materials. These plants have increased their men's wages greatly, we believe, in many cases 100 per cent, as some machinists are now making eighty cents an hour and there are higher wages paid in some plants."

Secretary Kessel points out the fact that while wages have been greatly increased, in some instances as much as 100 per cent, this does not hold good with salaried men. "Salaried men," he says, "and those engaged in such business as mercantile establishments, sale of insurance, clerical work, printing, newspapers, retail stores, wholesale warehouses, etc., have not, so far as we have noticed, received wage increases anywhere equaling the 66 per cent increase in the cost of living."

This holds good everywhere, and has been the case right along, just as John Bruce Mitchell, in his article on "Labor's Hold-Back" in the January issue of this magazine, pointed out. The salaried man, the clerk, small executive, professional man—all of these have not enjoyed the increase in earnings that have come to the laboring classes who receive "wages" instead of salaries. However, it is not these salaried men who are delaying our war work. They are not striking or sending out ultimatums; they are not walking out, but are doing their level best to be patient, to stand the decrease in their surplus due to the fact that the cost of living is increasing faster than their incomes.

In every instance it has been the wage-earner who has been striking or talking strike, just as it has been in every instance the wage-earner whose pay envelope has been getting fatter and fatter, week by week and month by month.

Rentals, clothing and especially luxuries (which the

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workingmen class as "cost of living") have increased more than food, consequently, while the food increase has not been as great as many have been led to believe, the total cost of living has reached as high in some localities as 66 per cent.

Dr. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Banking at Harvard University, said, before the House Ways and Means Committee hearing on taxation at Washington, June 10:

> "The laboring class is better off in a financial way now than a year ago, while the middle class or those receiving salaries are worse off than a year ago by reason of salaries not having been increased by leaps, as has been the case with wages."

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF LABOR

NOT all of our labor strikes are based on a demand for a "living wage." Secretary Wilson of the United States Department of Labor made this clear to a conference of forty editors and publishers whom he addressed at Delmonico's, in New York, last month on the subject of the Government's control of labor. He went exhaustively into reasons why the Government has found it necessary to place labor in war industries under the jurisdiction of the Employment Service Bureau of the Department of Labor. He declared that the first great difficulty, in dealing with wage-earners at the time the United States entered the war, was to overcome their false notion that all wars were of capitalistic origin. This error has been corrected, but Secretary Wilson deplores the attitude of labor today because, as he explained, now that the United States had been in the war a year, the main difficulty lay in strikes, and in the migratory habits which had been contracted by the workmen themselves.

> "When it first became apparent that we must send an army abroad," said Mr. Wilson, "and it was estimated that for every soldier in the field the country must have the service of from six to ten men to supply him with war's implements and necessities, our industries were nearly all young industries, filled with the pioneer spirit and therefore difficult to co-ordinate.
>
> "The Government found itself in need of men and in going out to get them found itself in competition with private industry which was equally hard pressed. Men who had

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never drawn more than a common laborer's wages began to ask and to receive extortionate prices and to rove from place to place seeking still higher wages."

When the National War Labor Board decided against establishing a minimum wage to be applied generally throughout industry, and announced that the determination and application of a fair living wage would be made in each case on the basis of the facts involved, this board included in the resolutions that it unanimously adopted, the following:

"That the period of the war is not a normal period of industrial expansion from which the employer should expect unusual profits, or the employes abnormal wages."

Profiteering in foodstuffs has been made practically impossible among manufacturers through Government fixing of a limitation on profits. But the retailer may, and to all appearances frequently does, boost his prices out of proportion to cost.

This state of affairs holds good, in a large way, in industries. Most of the Government contracts are either on a cost-plus basis or so awarded that the profit to the manufacturer will be small. There is a way of reaching him. But the laborer is much like the retailer, he cannot be reached under present conditions, and his strikes are a means of getting more profit out of what he has to sell—his services, just as the retail grocer may boost his prices regardless of the limitations put upon the manufacturers.

NO "DOUBLE PAY" FOR SOLDIERS

IN our earlier stages of the war when strikes were being called on every hand, friends of labor sought to champion the laboring man by declaring that the strikes were almost entirely due to the work of pacifists, German influence working under a cloak of pacifism, I. W. W. backed by capital that was, at least, unpatriotic, radical socialists and similar causes. But the pacifist is practically gone from among us. If he exists he dare not admit his identity; the I. W. W. activities have been held down until they are slight, enemy propagandists fomenting strikes are but little in evidence. And yet

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the strikes continue. The industries that they temporarily tie up, the uncompromising demands that so many of the strikers have made, continue to result in direct and serious embarrassment to Government war work, as well as private essential industry.

Continually comes the demand for shorter hours. In normal times one might expect such a demand. In these days we have over a million men on the firing line and 300,000 going over each month to join them, who are giving no particular thought to "shorter hours." Workmen here, getting all the way from fifty to ninety cents an hour, demand "time and a half" pay for overtime and double pay for Sundays and holidays, and demand, and are stopping work, at 3:30 in the afternoons. Not long ago some of our boys over there fought, on a pay never exceeding $36 a month, thirty-six hours without sleep and with scarcely any food; again some of them fought steadily with just enough relief for an hour or two for sleep, for five days. They are not asking for "time and a half" or double pay, or increased wages, or shorter hours.

There have been strikes in shoe factories where workmen are turning out shoes for our soldiers in France. In Lynn, Mass., for example, 25,000 workmen suspended work for two months.

Thirty-six thousand iron workers and shipbuilders in the San Francisco district are, at this writing, demanding an increase in wages.

The president of the American Woolen Company, William M. Wood, of Lawrence, Mass., has had to apply to Secretary of War Baker to help settle a strike in three of the company's big factories where cloth for Army and Navy uniforms is being manufactured.

Eight hundred workmen engaged in Government work at the Blake-Knowles Steam Pump Works at Cambridge, Mass., walked out on strike, demanding increased wages.

Electrical workers at Holyoke, Mass., engaged in work that has, indirectly, to do with the war, went on strike for an increase of eleven cents an hour, and got it.

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Twelve hundred coastwise longshoremen went on strike for higher wages. Their labor was just as necessary as that of the deep-sea longshoremen, as they are called, who handle trans-Atlantic cargoes, because we have to do this work in conjunction with the across-the-ocean work.

Street car men in Newark, N. J., went on strike and tied up thousands of workmen who wanted to get to the big shipyards to work on Uncle Sam's ships.

Because four hundred out of a thousand men could not unionize the majority of six hundred, in a Peoria, Ill., factory where the endless tread or "caterpillars" are made for the fighting tanks, the work was tied up nearly three months at a time when every tank was needed. It was necessary for the War Department to send soldiers there to prevent the union men from picketing the factory and keeping the non-union men from work.

Ten thousand meat packers struck in Kansas City.

Seven thousand khaki weavers in Philadelphia walked out.

In 1917 there had been thirty-five strikes or serious labor disturbances among the workmen building the army cantonments.

Aside from the shipbuilders in San Francisco who are demanding more wages, there were 35,000 in the New York district; 6,000 in the Newark, N. J., district; 12,000 in the Norfolk district and 9,500 in the Washington district who went on strike for higher wages and delayed shipbuilding.

WE'VE HAD 3,000 WAR-TIME STRIKES

SINCE we entered the war nearly a million and a half workmen went on strike and left their work for long or short periods, and, during that time, there have been published in the various newspapers accounts of a total of more than 3,000 strikes !

There are some instances where the laboring man sincerely believes that he is not getting a living wage. He knows that he is earning more—twice and three times as

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much—than he ever did before. Yet he has difficulty in meeting his rent, in settling his provision bills, he seems to be broke much of the time and he attributes this condition to the cost of living which he believes to be greater than his wage increase. But the fact is that so much money is new to him. He gets at the end of a week more than he used to get at the end of a month. With him it is often "Easy come, easy go." So he spends, as he never spent before, or in some cases, banks it, and he finds himself decidedly hard up. What shall he do? To strike for more money seems to be the only way out.

I was recently talking with a member of a big industrial firm on labor problems. This concern has millions of dollars worth of Government orders. It has spent millions in erecting a new plant. It already operated seventeen plants. He spoke of day labor and piece work.

"We cannot afford to keep men on day's pay," he told me, "and when we change a man from day work to piece work we figure that he will become at once 40 per cent more efficient."

It seemed a rather big statement. My informant explained. "If a man working by the day turns out sixty pieces of work for his day's labor and is paid $4 a day, when we put him on piece work we fix the price per piece at four cents, so that he will have to turn out one hundred to get the same $4 a day wage.

"Now if he were doing all that he possibly could on day work, and that limit was sixty pieces, he would earn but $2.40 and the four cent price would be unfair. But we have no fear about unfairness. He will turn out the hundred jobs just as easily as he did the sixty. He will do more, he will turn out nearer two hundred in a day."

WANTED—A STANDARD RETURN FOR WAGES

LABOR has long sought a standard wage. But labor has never fixed a standard return for its wages. It was when I asked this manufacturer of his attitude toward a

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standard wage that he gave me the example of day and piece work.

Authorities do not agree on the number of workmen over here necessary to maintain a soldier over there. Some place it as high as ten. Probably the most conservative estimate is four workmen engaged here to one soldier maintained abroad. Today the war industries of the country are in need of half a million more unskilled laborers and, as our army increases abroad, we shall need very soon three million more workers.

Already the newspapers from one end of the country to the other, carry, day after day, column after column of advertisements for laborers, common and skilled. Here are some excerpts from these advertisements:

> "Machinists wanted. First class men. 73 cents an hour."—New York *Times*.
>
> "Wanted—Helpers. 30 cents an hour."—The Pittsburg *Dispatch*.
>
> "Toolmakers. 80 cents an hour."—Detroit *Journal*.
>
> "At once—Internal and External grinders. Big pay."—Toledo *Blade*.
>
> "Laborers wanted. 40 cents an hour."—Cleveland *Press*.

These are typical of the advertisements appearing in newspapers throughout the country. Even common labor is bringing as high as $4 a day.

The set of principles adopted by the Labor War Board includes this:

"There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

There had been more than two thousand labor strikes in this country before we were through with the first year of the war. There have been a thousand more strikes thus far this year—a total of 3,000 strikes since April 6, 1917. This is at the rate of about six strikes a day! And these strikes are continuing.

The "set of principles" also includes:

"In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards."

What are the labor standards? Secretary of Labor

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Wilson intimated recently that they seemed to be the jumping about from place to place to find the highest wages.

Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the National War Labor Board, in an article in the August number of this magazine, wrote: "There is a noticeable desire of labor to meet the war emergency."

To have this desire *noticeable* seems scarcely sufficient. To say that there is only a "noticeable desire" on the part of our soldiers in France to defeat the enemy would be an insult. Our soldiers are determined, even at the supreme sacrifice, to defeat the enemy and the sooner that our war laborers over here meet the war emergency, not with a noticeable desire, but with determination, the sooner will our army achieve victory.

More laborers must be secured to keep up the work. There will be plenty of money for them. Their wages will be in excess of the cost of living, just as statistics show that they have been for years. The slogan now is "Work or fight." Our soldiers are fighting fair. Are our laborers working fair ?

President Wilson is fully awake to the situation. He summed it up in a few words in his telegram of June 15 to the convention of the American Federation of Labor:

> "The war can be lost in America as well as on the fields of France, and ill-considered or unjustified interruptions of the essential labor of the country may make it impossible to win it."

In an article in this issue Secretary Wilson sets forth the objects of the Government's employment service, in its function to regulate labor supply. It is an attempt to wring order out of the chaotic condition of labor with regard to its economic distribution for war work. While it does not solve the wages and cost of living question, nor prevent strikes, the agency of Government regulation will have a salutary effect upon labor.

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OUR MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY

A New Perspective Needed to Adequately Teach American History

By PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

[AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FORUM]

THE fact that true American history has not been taught in our schools need not be confusing to our patriotism or our national pride. It will be necessary to change many of the historical statements contained in our textbooks of American history as they are now used in American schools.

The modifications of American history should not be confusing, because its facts in the present vision of world affairs have become merely the horizon of world democracy. In the glory of its National evolution American history became a Western World mythology. It consists of a series of war dramas and political conflicts associated with the names of Washington, Monroe, Jefferson. These men, of that hour in historical time when they were leaders, have become the gods of American mythology. Since mythological events are smybols of human ideas, they may well enough be retained, but in their proportionate values.

Washington, the god, is in the maturity of our knowledge of war, becoming Washington the man. Monroe's doctrine of national isolation is becoming an American ideal of liberty for the world.

It is the intention of American educators who are devoting themselves to teaching Americanism to America, to readjust the proportion of historical nationalism so that it will apply to the new conditions of world democracy. We must create a dynamic patriotism. The first impression

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which the children of this generation must receive of American history requires a new vision. It must no longer consist on the one hand of a dry record of dates and statistics, nor on the other hand be taught as a fanciful fairy tale of a nation sufficient unto itself, and independent of world evolution.

American history, as it is being taught in our schools, reflects our national character in the adornment of mythological splendor. Our chief historical facts are heightened by the influences of a great ideal—Liberty.

But Liberty, let us recognize, in the form and figure in which America has pictured her is no longer a symbol of isolated Americanism. She is the Goddess of the world's ambition, she does not represent a unique ambition, peculiar only to American freedom. She does not belong exclusively to America. Although freedom was the first impulse behind the events of American history, Liberty is no longer the supreme Goddess of the Western Hemisphere only.

The emotional thrill which Liberty inspires through the record of the facts of our American history has been enormously extended. We are discovering that Liberty has represented not only our national independence, but also our international safety. Our world vision has been an error, because we are not independent of world evolution.

In 1776, according to our historical mythology we are presented with a false impression. We are told that America fought England in 1776 and instituted a democracy entirely repugnant to the British mind. Perhaps it was, but the revolt, or shall we say the awakening of the people of our Colonial period to a distinct objection to Imperial Government is no longer repugnant in Europe. The Imperial mind of 1776, was generally in Europe then, what it is today in Germany only, and is now nowhere else on the face of the globe. The significant fact in our historical mythology of 1776, was not the Imperial attitude, but American repugnance to a form of government that threatened the rights of Liberty. The most impressive fact of the Revolution of 1776 was not what it achieved against England, but what it demonstrated for world democracy.

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OUR HISTORY NEEDS READJUSTMENT

OUR Revolutionary history requires readjustment, not so much in its statement of facts, although that is bad enough, as in its interpretation of motive.

The events of stirring courage and sacrifice in those days of National emergency, were not merely romantic and picturesque, as they too often appear to be in some versions of American history. The American Revolution was not romantic; it was realistic. Fundamentally it was resistance to an invasion of the rights of Liberty, a Liberty not so well understood then, as now. Mythological enthusiasm, and the spell of literary adornment have distorted the underlying principle of our first great historical fact.

We are given the impression in American history, and no doubt it was the chief impulse of our National birthright, that the Western Hemisphere should become a paradise sufficiently remote from the long reach of Imperialism to remain an Eden. In the enjoyment of that idea we were impressed with its wisdom. For that idea our ancestors fought bitterly and brilliantly to establish an isolated continent, where Liberty in ornate and poetic splendor, should preside. It did. These errors of American history in this period of our national career, become obvious to us today, when we realize that there is no such thing as human isolation for individual, or for nation.

Again, as our tradition would have it, in 1812 we defeated England a second time and America, still in splendid isolation, was declared pledged to the principles of a paradise marked "Private," for Americans.

By these two war dramas as recorded in American history, the impression that Liberty could be safeguarded only in America, has been fostered. Perhaps the enthusiasm of American historical mythologists has been excusable, but it has isolated the Goddess of Liberty. This mythology of United States history should now be corrected in our schools, and cast out of our history.

The gods of 1776 and later from Washington to Mon-

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roe, were the leaders of a predestined cause, which we today are justifying. Washington was the god of an American paradise without entanglements, and Monroe was the god of National appropriation. They successfully destroyed Imperial repugnance to Liberty on the Western Hemisphere, but they did not do it by the mysterious forces of mythology. And yet, American history gives the impression that, under the god-like forces of these mythological figures the people of America should be forever secure against European invasions. American history, always exhibiting our isolation, with heroic phrases, has dis-associated European politics and European ambitions from American principles. This has been done in the name of the gods themselves.

American history so mythologized has created an impression that the American gods invented Liberty. One might gather from these errors of American history that Thomas Jefferson discovered democracy, and that England was the natural enemy of Liberty. And this, notwithstanding the fact that if these historical suggestions were true, it should have been a cause of great anxiety, rather than of great rejoicing. In the enthusiasm with which the early historians dilated their records, democracy was presented as a mysterious force, a superhuman power, a divine light that required no militay power, no material strength to maintain its principles. For a while the civilized monarchies of Europe seemed to share this impression. They kept their hands off the Western Hemisphere, and it looked as if we would be forever free of European invasion, of European politics and ambitions.

The chosen theme of American history, namely the achievement of national isolation, can no longer remain its basis. If we look at the actual historical facts in their true relations to modern international facts, the American Revolution was not confined to America. It was the first phase of a world movement. It was by no means a war against the English people. It was not a war of English men in America against English men in England. It was a war of the liberal element of both countries against aggressions of a German crown. This has not been explained in American

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history. Mythology has dealt with symbols and not with broad facts.

GERMANY ON THE ENGLISH THRONE

THE greatest battles of the American Revolution were not fought on American soil, but in England. They were the battles of British politics fought out in the British Parliament. The monarch of Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution, George III, by no means represented the English people. He did not represent any English idea. George III was not English. He was a German, and all his policies were the natural policies of a German monarchy. He inherited the throne in a legal and legitimate way, but he was a German Prince, whose legal right to the throne of England was duly recognized. His colonial policy which involved the American Revolution had little support in England. That is why he was forced to depend on troops borrowed from the Prince of Hesse—a German. That was why the Hessians became conspicuous in the American Revolution. German brutality was busy in the days of the American Revolution, but American history has not yet exhibited it.

One of the chief and bitter memories of the American Revolution which incited the hatred of Americans for England, was the treatment of Revolutionary prisoners on the prison ships in New York Harbor. These ships were not British in their management. We had documentary evidence to show that they were manned by Germans.

Mythological American history insists that we defeated England in the war of 1812. We did not defeat England. The war on land was a disastrous series of defeats for us.

The army of invasion, in spite of the disadvantages that an oversea invader has, marched on Washington and burned our Capitol. America did eventually win what she was fighting for, in spite of our unpreparedness, but not because of any triumph of our arms.

We were fighting then for the freedom of the seas. And, while the valor of our navy had much to do with the result, the pressure of political liberals, in England was a decisive

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factor. It was not by any precise terms made with England, that England ceased to impress our sailors into service. It was by the actual change in English policy that the practice was abandoned

American history is glorious enough without distorting its actual events. It is glorious enough to be recorded in all its realism. We cannot detract from the glory of Washington or of Jefferson by placing them in their true proportion to world events. Nor can we detract from the Declaration of Independence when we show that it was only a first blooming of Revolutionary thought. It is our duty to place American history in the true perspective of world history, otherwise it cannot be adequately taught. The rise of democracy must be explained, and that can only be done through a complete understanding of the ambitions of autocracy.

TRUE UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN HISTORY NECESSARY

THE first reform which American history must undergo is to give all Americans the history of modern Imperialism. We cannot teach American history in its true relation to the affairs of the world unless we make clear the dominant part that Germany has steadily played in an effort to rule the world.

This world war is not an accident. It is the accumulative moment of a dream of Empire, which American history should have revealed to the American people long ago. The idea of German dominance has been instilled into every German child through Germany's educational system. No child in Germany could learn the alphabet without absorbing Imperial propaganda. America never dreamed of a place in the international sunlight of power. That was unfortunate. We should have dreamed it long ago. Americanism, when defined, was always associated with the idea of Liberty only, and our notion of Liberty tended to become the idea that in America everyone could do as he pleased. He could support the government or he could blaspheme it, he could be loyal or disloyal, he could emigrate from a country where he was not allowed to say a word against authority and upon his

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arrival in America he could attack the tyranny of the Americans.

It never dawned upon our nation that we had a world mission. We were content to be an object lesson to the world. We were proud of our isolation, we were united in the idea that we could work out our own salvation, giving a free pattern of national ideals to other countries. Scarcely five years ago, not a man in America could have believed that we should have a million soldiers in France today fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

We must accept the situation and change our history. Our old security has gone. The United States has suffered disillusion. We have learned that no country can be independent of the civilization that surrounds it. Either the American idea or the Prussian idea must survive. One or the other must make room. It has taken American invention to destroy the mythology of American history, the aeroplane and the submarine. The sea has ceased to protect us, and both the sea and the air have become routes for invasion.

The time for the patriotism of isolation has gone; we need rational patriotism in organization and service and conscious of a world situation. American history must be moulded to this idea.

Instead of a narrow nationalism we have a new sentiment of national force, called Americanism. It is a living, growing thing. It is something more than personal Liberty. It is charged with ideas of freedom and of equality of opportunity, and it opposes coercion and conquest. It has become a passion to preserve these ideas at any cost. Of course, it is related to the old Americanism which worked out the present destiny of America. Where before, Americanism represented a mythological fairyland of free isolation, it is today charged with a world mission. We can no longer shout "America for Americans." We will no longer be content with a false sense of security. Not until all the people of the earth are guaranteed equal freedom to work out their destiny will America have achieved her place in the sun.

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THE "PLEASURE-CAR" MISNOMER

How The People Use Their Cars

By JOHN BRUCE MITCHELL

"The present tax of 3 per cent on the gross sales of the manufacture of automobiles was increased to 10 per cent on pleasure cars, while tax on commercial cars or motor trucks was fixed at 5 per cent."—News dispatch, July 30.

THE House Ways and Means Committee classes as a "pleasure car" one that is privately owned for carrying passengers.

Among the many who volunteered their aid to the House Ways and Means Committee last June, in the way of offering suggestions for taxation, was Dr. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Banking at Harvard University. He appeared before the committee and for more than an hour elaborated upon a number of theories of taxation, in the course of which he was quoted as saying:

"Luxuries, in which automobiles are included, should have a stiff tax imposed upon them."

John Doe picked up his newspaper on the morning of June 11 and read Professor Sprague's statement to the effect that an automobile is a luxury.

"It sure is," says John Doe.

Again on July 31 he picked up his morning paper and read that the House Ways and Means Committee had decided to increase the tax on "pleasure cars" from 3 to 10 per cent.

"Why not tax pleasure cars?" asked John Doe.

"No reason in the world," replied his neighbor, Richard Roe, "we're in serious business now; we're winning a big war. This is no time for luxuries and pleasures. People who can afford them can afford to pay taxes on them."

The conclusions of Doe and Roe would be logical if it were true that a passenger automobile is a pleasure car. An automobile that carries passengers cannot be classed as a

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pleasure car any more than a man who goes on a week's fishing trip every year can have his occupation set down as "Fisherman."

The phrase "pleasure car" is a great misnomer and is working an injustice to automobile manufacturer and owner alike. It gives one the impression of a car used exclusively for "joy riding." A "joy ride" is a hilarious party off on a trip from road-house to road-house, from cabaret to cabaret, a party that is doing no work, achieving nothing worth while, but wasting time and money on a frivolous trip.

There are more than four million passenger cars in the United States today. Not five thousand of them were *ever* used for joy riding, not one hundred of the whole four million are kept *solely* for joy riding.

Because an automobile contains cushioned seats instead of a delivery body or a truck platform, it is classed at once as a "pleasure car." Here are some figures on this subject, compiled from conservative estimates supplied by automobile manufacturers.

Motor vehicles in use in the United States.....	5,000,000
Of this number the passenger cars total.....	4,000,000
Motor vehicles used for business purposes.....	85 per cent
So-called "pleasure cars" used *solely* for business.	65 per cent

This means that 2,600,000 of the passenger cars are *never used in any manner for pleasure.* The remaining 1,400,000 are used for "pleasure," such as daily work on the farm, taking the family on a Sunday trip, commuting to save railroad fares, helping in Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives, doing the family shopping, doing important errands that have to do with business, taking the children to and from school in rainy weather, or every day at a distant school, going to church, going into the country to get fresher and cheaper provisions, doing war relief work, giving soldiers and sailors a "lift," and an almost endless list of uses.

For every mile that these automobiles, miscalled "pleasure cars," are run on a purely pleasure trip, they are run one hundred miles on business, on useful, helpful, patriotic, and necessary errands.

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OCCUPATIONS OF AUTOMOBILE OWNERS

THE division of our country's motor vehicles is interesting when compared with the divisions of occupations. A certain big manufacturer of automobiles—*real* automobiles—who has a capacity of a thousand a day, has kept so closely in touch with the owners of his cars, through a clever system, that he knows the name, address and business of every owner of his various styles of cars. Coupling this systematized information with other returns he has made the following table:

Division by Occupation in the United States Per Cent		Per Cent of Automobile Owners Among These Occupations Per Cent
33.2	Farmers and Stock Raisers	53.1
9.5	Trade	18.9
27.9	Manufacturers	10.1
4.4	Professional Men	7.3
3.0	Transportation	6.9
2.5	Miners	2.1
9.9	Domestic and Personal Service	2.1
1.6	Clerical	1.8
1.2	Public Service	1.6

The farmer does not use his automobile as a pleasure car, except when he takes his family to church or once a year goes on a trip to visit Brother Ed or Sister Jane. He uses it in his business, day in and day out.

The occupations under the general term of "Trade," is made up of 9.5 per cent of all the occupations, and 18.9 per cent of these men in trade own cars. There are few exceptions to this, and the one great exception is that of the owners of the so-called "Pleasure cars."

Such people are classed as "Domestic and Personal Service," they embrace 9.9 per cent of all the classified occupations, yet only 2.1 per cent of them own automobiles!

With but one filling of the tanks of the automobiles in the United States twenty-five million people, or a quarter of the nation's population, could be moved one hundred miles. The transportation value of the automobile can scarcely be estimated, its part in developing good roads has been told and re-told, but never with sufficient credit.

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It requires five acres of ground to support one horse, according to United States Department of Agriculture figures. One automobile will, of course, more than replace one horse. It will replace from five to ten horses at a low estimate in a day's work, but, as a basis, consider one automobile taking the place of one horse. The total number of automobiles now in use in this country are releasing twenty-five million acres of tillable soil! Counting the automobiles in use on the farms alone, and we have released for growing food for human consumption ten million acres of land, which is sufficient to support nearly three and a half million people!

"Ah," exclaims the pessimist, "but consider the cost of supporting an automobile!"

Very well, let us consider it. One acre of land will support an automobile!

It takes five acres to support a horse. The automobile then, releases, free and clear, or "net" as the business man would put it, four good acres of soil, and at the same time one automobile will actually do the work of ten horses in a day, thereby releasing at least four extra drivers who are today doing their bit either at the front, in munition factories or on the farm.

All of this is an extremely conservative estimate. An automobile will come nearer doing the work of twenty than ten horses. One car releases far more than one horse. The farmer can raise more provisions with less men, carry it to market better, earn more money, buy more Liberty Bonds—release more men for direct war service in khaki and more men for indirect war service in factory and on the farm.

THE AUTOMOBILE IS A NECESSITY

THE automobile is no more a pleasure car today than the daily dinner is a "pleasure meal." The car has become almost as necessary as the meal. Like so many others, misled by the phrase "pleasure car," I thought that I was buying a car just for pleasure. My neighbors who have cars thought the same. Like almost everyone else, we took it for granted that whoever coined the phrase was right, that they were

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pleasure cars. My case is like the cases of every other man in my position, one who goes to his work every day, one who is neither poverty-stricken nor by any means wealthy.

I live too far out to make it advisable to commute in the car. Besides, there's the boy, the daughters and friend wife who all like to use the car. The first week that I got it, it was at the station on two occasions—rainy days—to whisk me home. It was used for gathering up members of the local Red Cross circle and taking them to the parish house for the day's Red Cross work. It took the children to and from High School on two rainy days. It brought and returned a colored woman to help with a day's work, it took flowers to a hospital, it was used one evening by an orator in a public square who was making a War Savings Stamp appeal, and on two evenings it took me out for a couple of hours after dinner on a restful ride, after a hot, wearying day at the office, bringing me home full of ozone, ready for a sleep, to be refreshed for the next day's work.

Call those two little evening trips, four hours in all, "pleasure trips," if you will. I call them "medicine trips." Aside from that the car, during that first week, was used solely in good offices. As a means of transportation during a rain it prevented wet feet, spoiled clothes and the expense of replacing them; it saved two hours in getting the Red Cross workers together and home again, got out a bigger crowd and enabled that little branch to do double the work it had ever performed previously in one day; it enabled a speaker to reach a crowd of about a thousand in a public square while workers in the crowd made enthusiastic by the oratory, subscribed most liberally for the stamps.

Yet Professor Sprague of Harvard would class the automobile as a luxury and the House Ways and Means Committee insists that a motor vehicle privately owned and provided with seats for carrying passengers, is a "pleasure car."

Before the 10 per cent increase was proposed in taxes the rate was 3 per cent on automobiles and 2 per cent on face powder. Now it is planned to put face powder taxes right up on a par with automobiles, 10 per cent.

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How much land is released by face powder? How is the Red Cross and Liberty Loan work helped with face powder? To what extent is transportation speeded up, business speeded up and extra workers released by face powder?

The doctor owns a car with seats in it. It is classed as a pleasure car. The manufacturer is to be taxed 10 per cent for making it for the doctor and the doctor, it is now strongly recommended, should be "stiffly taxed" for owning it.

Mrs. Jones' baby is stricken at 1 A. M. He was normally a healthy baby boy. Doctor Blank is called by telephone. He gets up, gets into his car and is at baby's bedside in ten minutes. Baby is saved, but was it a pleasure ride for doctor? That "Pleasure Car" in ten minutes' time and with about ten cents worth of gasoline, saved a sturdy youngster to grow up and be added to our citizenry—and the wealth of any country is, after all, its citizens.

Bill Smith is doing great work in a machine shop, helping to turn out Liberty Motors. One evening in opening a can of beans at home he severs an artery in his wrist, he sees the danger, clasps his wrist and rushes out, hails a passing automobile, is rushed to the hospital, the cut is fixed up so cleverly that he is at his work the next day, hasn't lost an hour's output, thanks to a so-called pleasure car.

"COULDN'T FARM WITHOUT MY CAR."

AT harvesting time the farmers were everywhere threshing wheat—the wheat that is enabling us and our allies to win the war. His threshing machine breaks, the hardware store where he bought the machine is twelve miles away. He hops into his "pleasure car," gets over to town, gets the part, returns, replaces it, and has lost exactly an hour and twenty minutes. If he had harnessed a horse and driven over in the heat and dust and driven back, he would have lost the entire day, a shower might have helped the Huns by coming up and spoiling the wheat, meanwhile, but his car enabled him to go ahead and with a little speeding up to "make up for lost time" his day's work was the same as though the accident had not happened.

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The farm with an automobile is to a town twenty miles away what the farm used to be to a town three miles away.

An investigation of the use of the automobile among farmers was made, among other places, in certain localities in the middle West. Some bankers and merchants were interviewed but, for the most part, farmers were seen and their statements carefully reported. There wasn't a farmer in the lot but what felt it a personal insult when asked if he considered his automobile to be a pleasure car.

Their statements, taken from their letters answering the inquiry, are of interest. One of them, a County Agent for the Department of Agriculture, declared that there was no greater necessity on the farm today than the automobile. He wrote that he had been largely instrumental in solving the labor shortage problem, he told how seeds were delivered by automobile, thus making it possible to bring about the world's bumper crop and explained that seventeen hundred of the 2,300 farmers in his county owned automobiles. Such farmers kept no driving horses, and thereby saved not only the grain their horses would eat, but the acreage necessary to grow it.

The owner of a farm of about six hundred acres, stated that his automobile took the place of one man on the farm. His wife, he wrote, distributed Red Cross work among the farmers' wives every week by means of the car.

How constantly an automobile is used on the farm for business was illustrated in a letter from a farmer who cultivates 365 acres. He has owned an automobile seven years, and has averaged 7,000 miles a year, *all business trips*. He says that it is much cheaper than a team and cited a recent instance (it happened the latter part of July) in which in the midst of harvesting his binder got out of order. He made two trips to the city, fourteen miles distant, got the necessary parts, made the repairs, and got in all of the grain just as a tremendous rain storm came up. This storm, he added, would have ruined his entire field of wheat. This farmer is also in the cattle business in South Dakota, where he uses fourteen automobiles. He stated that in his work for the

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Second and Third Liberty Loan campaigns, he used his car five days, and his county went far above its quota.

Another farmer was terse and direct to the point when he wrote: "I have used a car nine and a half years and would have to quit farming without it." He cultivates 280 acres.

An official of a national bank in Illinois wrote that his bank had always and would always lend money to the farmer to buy cars. Last year an automobile upon which his bank had advanced $1,200 saved a crop that not only paid for the automobile, but produced a large amount of food.

The President of another National Bank wrote that he had been a farmer and a banker for 43 years, and that he had found that the automobile had done more for the farm than any other thing.

"If you don't believe a farmer has a use for his car, go ahead and try to buy it from him," the owner of a 300-acre farm wrote. He added that the day would come when the use of passenger cars as well as trucks would do away with the necessity of keeping switching crews at a great expense and loss of time for local freighting at tank stations.

Still another farmer found the automobile so necessary in his work that he supplied his foreman with one. Last spring he had some wonderful spring wheat. His neighbors thought so much of it that he delivered 800 bushels of the seed throughout the neighborhood in an automobile which was the means of producing the finest wheat fields ever seen in that section.

A woman who owns 2,000 acres has 21 tenants on her land, and practically all of them have automobiles. She declares that they couldn't operate the farms without automobiles.

SIXTY BILLION MILES A YEAR BY AUTO

THE owner of five farms lives in an Illinois town but keeps in touch with his property by means of his automobile. These farms are located four, five, ten, fifteen, and twenty-two miles from his home. He says that he could not oversee

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them or make them pay without his own automobile, and without automobiles on each farm. "I can truthfully say," he writes, "that I could buy a new car every six months and throw the old one away and be well paid."

The Food Administrator of a county in a mid-western state asserted that the labor shortage was of such a serious nature that, without the automobile, farmers in his locality could do nothing. He found that the farmers could work longer and get home quicker by means of the automobile; that it had done wonders for the farmers in broadening their vision and in increasing their business ability.

The vice-president of a bank in a farming district stated that it is now getting so that the farmer depends more and more upon his automobile. Nearly all of them in his district owned cars, and he is constantly wondering how it is that the cars last so long considering the great loads of milk, grain, vegetables and other produce that they haul into town. This man was chairman of the three Liberty Loan campaigns in his county. He appointed local township chairmen, who each had five to twenty men under them, and each man was selected because he owned a car. "Thanks to the automobile," this banker writes, "our county went 57 per cent over its quota on the Third Loan."

Another farmer, owner of 200 acres, pointed out that, owing to the war, automobiles were needed more than ever, because of the necessity to speed up with the crops for the Government, and the scarcity of labor. "Without automobiles," he declared, "nothing could be done."

The head of a County Farm Bureau explained the necessity of automobiles on the farm. He stated that there were 3,700 farmers in his county, and that there were more than 3,000 automobiles on those farms. "A few years ago," he wrote, "everybody said that a farmer who bought a car would neglect his business and go broke, but today we do not consider that a farmer is efficient unless he owns an automobile." Farmers in his section move the laborers from farm to farm to put up the grain, using automobiles. With the scarcity of labor, which made it impossible to get extra help in town, a

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large share of the crops would have been lost but for the automobile.

"I have found," the owner of 700 acres wrote, "that there is no profit in attempting to farm these days without an automobile. Time is the great factor on a farm just as it is in a factory."

The merchandising manager of one of the largest and most progressive stores in the Middle West made this statement less than two months ago: "Three years ago we had a little over three thousand out-of-town charge customers. Today we have 18,000 charge customers, because the farmers have automobiles and can come in to our store without loss of time. They save not only hours but dollars in this manner, and we have increased our trading radius from 40 to 100 miles."

Farmers in every section of the country have the same story to tell. The automobile is more than a passenger car to them. It is a necessity.

Estimated transportation figures give the following:

Annual passenger mile service by railroad.....35,000,000,000
Annual passenger mile service by automobile..60,000,000,000

The automobiles in the United States travel about forty million miles a day, or a distance equal to sixteen hundred times around the world.

Transportation has won many a battle, many a war, transportation of food and munitions as well as of man. We are further from our base of supplies than any of the other allies. But, thanks to our "pleasure cars" here at home, our thousands of men who are transacting the business of keeping supplies grown, manufactured, grouped and shipped, are able to get about without loss of time and all the world knows the result—a miracle of efficiency and speed.

AUTOMOBILES INCREASE MAN POWER 20 PER CENT

THERE isn't a passenger automobile in the country now but what saves at least two hours time a day. This represents in total time saved every day what an army of one million workingmen could do in that time.

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With the automobile:

School superintendents can take charge of more schools, get around to supervise them quicker, do their work more efficiently;

The housewife can do her shopping quicker and save several hours a day for more war work;

The Red Cross workers can do three times as much work in a day than they could do without a car;

The professional man can increase his services and make them of more value by prompt response to calls;

The farmer can get his produce into market in a fresh condition while saving time and labor;

The salesman can cover more territory, can do the work of four men without cars and release men for other service;

The manufacturer can jump from office to customer or supply station and speed up his work at least 50 per cent;

The commuter can save money and get health;

The men in Army and Navy department work here at home can speed it up 70 per cent;

The farm is no longer isolated and more men are going back to farming;

Man power is increased 20 per cent; and

Our army cantonments were built nine months quicker than could have been done without "pleasure cars" for conveying workmen, doing errands, getting superintendents and managers and contractors about.

Automobiles have advanced but slightly in price. Wages have increased greatly. In 1914 it took 1,142 bushels of corn to buy a car. Today 590 bushels of corn will buy one, and so on, with about the same ratio with other values.

Here is the story of one "pleasure car." The man bought it three years ago for $800. He sold it this spring for $400. He traveled 24,000 miles in it. He kept careful account of everything and this is the way he figured it:

Car cost	$ 800
Interest three years at 6 per cent	144
Gasoline, oil and repairs	800
Total cost for three years	$1,744

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Saved in railway fares, self and family of five	$ 680
Saved in expressage by carrying goods	78
Saved cost one salesman	1,300
Sold car	400
Total saving by means of automobile	$2,458
Net profit on car in three years	$ 714

Not every man can do as well. Not every man is as well situated as to home, location of business and nature of business. This man saved commutation fares and fares for his family of five, he could make two or three trips around the city and keep up his office work, thus saving the expense of a city salesman.

Sundays in summer he took his family into the country on picnics, in winter he took them in the country for skating parties. Many evenings in good weather he took little trips here and there, all pleasure trips. But who can say that he owned a pleasure car ?

Abolish the passenger cars today—the cars that are classed as "luxuries" and "pleasure cars"—and our war work, commerce, crop production, all would slow up and fall off at least fifty per cent.

The phrase "Pleasure car" is a decided misnomer.

There are some who would, even in these war times when criticism is not a safe indoor sport, go so far as to timidly suggest that our war work and commerce and business in general and prosperity in general wouldn't be harmed in the least if face powder and perfume and patent medicines and satin slippers and platinum jewelry and 25 cent cigars and $16 men's silk shirts and a list of similar non-essentials a mile or so long were all taxed 100 per cent, while the good old automobile be allowed a square deal.

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THE VISION OF THE SHIPS

A Look Forward in Shipbuilding for After the War Trade

By STEPHEN MARSHALL

THERE is an after-the-war vision in the Shipping Board's program that opens up a world dream, hardly suspected by the public.

It reaches out to the furthermost parts of the earth. It carries America across the Seven Seas and brings to our national life the products of all the world—*in our own ships*. It knits the world's diplomacy into a brotherhood of a good will and establishes the comity of all peoples in mutual interest.

Before the war America was a passenger; after the war she will be a cargo carrier. We are bridging the seas and going down the ways as a maritime nation.

We go into far lands, not as jealous rivals, smug in our isolation, but as competitors on terms of mutual benefit. We shall make our friendly allies of commerce partners in our all-world mart.

Rivalry and suspicion of our Yankee shrewdness will be displaced by the spirit of cooperation for common good—for we shall build our ships for all. As a shipbuilding nation, possessed of the natural resources—steel, wood, skilled labor—we enter into the production period as builders and sellers of ships.

American labor will construct for foreign purchase. South America, Europe, the Orient, may buy or lease on equal terms with American firms.

The Shipping Board's program has visioned the future, and it is not a vision of self-exploitation. It is a prospect that brings the world's commerce into a vast organization, so closely united and so practically coordinated that rivalry can only exist in *Service*.

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This sweeping peopling of the seas with a maritime community of interest is not alone the dream of one man, but is the evolution in the readjustment of mercantile sea affairs, brought to a crisis in the war necessities of the construction of the Emergency Fleet.

It has been made possible by the vast sums the American people have placed at the disposal of the Shipping Board. It is the outcome of the policy of practical men—of Schwab and Hurley and their chosen associates. It is the thought of these men, approved by the President, to build for permanency, not for emergency alone—though never forgetting that war emergency is paramount.

While the public is asking what is to become of our ships after the war, the Shipping Board is answering the question. Our ships are to go into the trade of the world and serve as carriers of raw and finished products, that the balances destroyed by the years of war may be readjusted and permanently stabilized. That the marine of stunned nations may be replaced and the goods of the world go where they may restore blighted nations and suffering peoples.

"Why should we not build ships to sell, as well as to lease," is the perspective of the heads of the Board.

It is not the aim of the government to operate, now or after the war, but to build and lease, or sell—and to build where conditions are favorable to construction and helpful to international relations.

PUTTING CHINESE LABOR TO WORK

IN pursuance of this program a $30,000,000 contract was awarded to a Shanghai yard. The arrangements were made for this contract in true American business-like spirit. Diplomacy was not consulted, policy of balance of control in China was not invoked; none of the old questions of cause and effect on poor old China were considered, further than to enlist her interest and aid in the ship program. The idea of calling in the resources of China was decided by the Board, and after a few interchanges of cablegrams, the contract was

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awarded, for four 10,000 ton steel cargo carrying vessels, and options upon the output of the Kiangnan yards for 80,000 additional tons of steel freighters. About thirty-five thousand tons of steel will be shipped to China. The deliveries are to begin in about six months after the steel has been received. All iron castings will be obtained in China. Only steel plates and shapes are to be supplied from here, one ton of steel making about three tons of shipping.

"The action of the United States Shipping Board in awarding a huge contract to the Shanghai yard is going to produce remarkable results for America in China," is the opinion of R. B. Mauchan, manager of the Kiangnan dockyard and a noted Scotch engineer who has lived in China for the last thirty years.

"Do you realize the effect building American ships in China will have upon the young men of China?" says this authority. "Knowing as they do the part shipping plays in winning this world war, can you not see the sentimental side of it as well as the economical? Closer commercial relations must result; a development of the vast opportunities for commercial relations between China and America. China is intellectually awake. Shipbuilding in China is not a new venture. It goes back hundreds of years. But building American ships there is new and novel. It has an appeal that strikes the Chinese mind with tremendous force at a time when all eyes are turned toward her.

"After the war America must have an outlet for its surplus steel and machine tools, machinery and agricultural implements. Without a large export business built up with countries like China, America will be in a disadvantageous position. But the development of shipbuilding in China will in no wise effect America. The reciprocal relations will more than balance."

So much for planting our industrial flag on Chinese soil. Of vast importance too, is the outlook in South America, where our wooden ships will play a great role, and subsequently our steel cargo carriers.

The most important trade of the United States today,

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with the possible exception of the coal carrying, is the nitrate trade with Chile. Nitrate is necessary to explosives; it is also the base of fertilizers. We are absorbing practically the entire output of Chilean nitrate, the greatest in the world.

Of almost equal importance is the movement of manganese from Brazil to this country. Manganese is an alloy used in the manufacture of steel. It is also necessary to send vessels to Brazil for coffee and rubber, though we are temporarily well stocked with the latter. To and from Buenos Aires and Montevideo ships are carrying wool for the soldiers' uniforms.

The diversion of fast ships from the Cuban trade to transatlantic service has operated to handicap rapid operation between New York and Cuban ports, but peace time averages have been approximated.

In the oil trade with Mexico, in the vitally important sisal trade with Yucatan, in the banana trade with Central America and Colombia, American ships are being speeded up. So in the Pacific, for trade with the Orient and Australia, and the Philippines.

In the trades that are still considered essential in war time, the movements of vessels to all these ports have been quickened over normal or pre-war pace by day to day observation kept by the Shipping Board. For the first time in the history of American shipping a centralized organization is watching the work of the ships, contrasting their performances and striving all the time to speed them up.

EXPANDING HARBOR FACILITIES

KEEPING apace with the record-breaking production of ships for the war—*and after*—the Shipping Board will expand the port and harbor facilities of the country.

A doubling, and perhaps trebling, of docks, piers, marine railways and terminal facilities in general of Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific ports will be necessary, once they are released from war traffic—even new ports may become necessary.

For the first time in the history of port development of this country a complete inventory of port facilities is being

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made, and a study of all their facilities, advantages or disadvantages, taken into account.

All ports where coal and oil are, are under investigation. This is the most important of all the coastwise trades in which past performances have been handicapped by inadequate facilities—a trade, as revealed during 1917 and the present year, limited only by shipping and port facilities. One of the immediate tasks is to expand these facilities so that the bulk of coal for New England war industries may be expedited by water.

Port facilities are taxed to capacity now by the present shipping—in many instances overtaxed, and are facing serious congestion, particularly in New York harbor—the greatest problem of port development in the world today.

Some of the Southern ports show congestion in sight unless their facilities are expanded. A great deal of traffic is now being diverted by the railroads from overland routes north to southern ports either for shipment north or to the West Indies and South America. Galveston and New Orleans are notable examples, and the expansion of port facilities at Mobile, Jacksonville and Charleston, are to be given required attention. All Southern ports face phenomenal expansion.

One of the larger problems of shipping is the diversion of imports and exports from northern to southern ports, especially those going to and from the Middle West. Hitherto, they have passed through the port of New York, thus increasing not only the burden of the facilities of that port, but of the badly congested railroads along the north Atlantic seaboard and in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In the future, to relieve the congestion of the port and the eastern railroads, other routes may be supplied—to the Middle West, for example, via Southern ports, railways and waterways.

A great deal of the enormous trade in sight with South America is prospectively considered in relation with the ports of the South, and if plans go through, the expansion of waterfront facilities in that part of the country becomes of front rank importance.

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All the Pacific ports, if British shipping history points a moral, face likewise notable expansion of trade with the Orient, and therefore of port requirements far beyond all pre-war plans. For the Pacific trade as for that on the Atlantic and Gulf ports, the need of port facilities on a comprehensive scale is one of the most essential tasks of the special Port Harbor Facilities Commission of the Board.

The development of port facilities links up with the railroads, and it is proposed to give ports in the future a closer connection between shipping and railroads than they have ever had in the past. Port development on both sides, land and water, becomes feasible with shipping and railroads under government control.

Now that both these great arteries of transportation are under government direction, their needs can be determined exactly in relation to one another, and so matched. Keenly alive to the peace time significance of the great shipbuilding program of the country, the Commission is working with a broad vision toward the expansion of port facilities to handle the great after war commerce.

SCHOOLS OF SEAMANSHIP

WITH these great expansions of our marine in view, great training stations for seamen are being developed. Uncle Sam must supply his ships with skilled men, to keep apace with the growth of his cargo carrying trade. He must no longer depend upon the old haphazard method of "Shanghaing" waterfront idlers to man his ships. Boys will be enlisted in training stations and equipped as A. B's, ready to go aboard and take places assigned to them. For this purpose schools of seamanship will be distributed on the coasts, near ports, and under the control of the government. Seamanship will emerge into an American trade of skilled and properly paid proportions. Training service will be given upon ships in the service, and no seaman will be sent to sea until qualified.

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"Before the war ocean commerce traveled in bottoms owned and operated by private capital," says Chairman Hurley. "Now this gigantic merchant fleet which we are turning out is to be controlled by one central body by the greatest corporation in the Western World—the United States of America.

"We are beginning to fulfill our destiny. In round numbers, and from all sources, we have added to the American flag since our war against Germany began nearly 4,500,000 tons of shipping. I do not believe I am over optimistic in saying that our tonnage output will continue to increase until this year closes we will be turning out a half million tons each month.

"We have established a shipbuilding industry that will make us a great maritime nation. We have today under contract and construction 819 shipbuilding ways including wood, steel and concrete, which is twice as many shipbuilding ways as there are in all the rest of the ship yards of the world combined. Our program for the future should appeal to the pride of all loyal and patriotic Americans.

"It calls for the building of 1,856 passenger, cargo, refrigerator ships and tankers, ranging from 5,000 to 12,000 tons each, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 13,000,000. We are also contracting for 200 wooden barges, 50 concrete barges, 100 concrete oil carrying barges, and 150 steel, wood and concrete tugs of 1,000 horsepower for ocean and harbor service, which aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 850,000.

"Exclusive of the above, we have 245 commandeered vessels, taken over from foreign and domestic owners, which are being completed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. These will average 7,000 tons each and aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 1,715,000.

"This makes a total of 2,101 vessels exclusive of tugs and barges which are being built and will be put on the seas by the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the course of carrying out the present program, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 14,715,000.

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A LOOK FORWARD, BY CHAIRMAN HURLEY

"IT will require $5,000,000,000 to finish our program for 1918, 1919 and 1920, but the expenditure of this enormous sum will give to the American people the greatest merchant fleet ever assembled in the history of the world—a fleet which I predict will serve all humanity loyally and unselfishly upon the same principles of liberty and justice which brought about the establishment of this free republic. The expenditure of the enormous sum will give America a merchant fleet aggregating 25,000,000 tons of shipping.

" The total gross revenue of our fleet is very impressive. From the ships under the control of the Shipping Board a total gross revenue is derived of about $360,000,000, an amount more than the gross revenue of the New York Central Railroad and almost equal to that of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, and the N. Y. C. R. R. combined.

" If in 1919-20 we have the passenger and cargo tonnage we have planned, we will be in a position to establish a weekly passenger service between New York and Rio de Janiero, Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Caracas on the east coast, and weekly service between Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Valparaiso, Chile, on the western coast. On the west coast we now have two fast passenger steamers plying between New York and Valparaiso. These are the first to carry the American flag on that route. They have cut the time between these two important cities from 27 to 18 days—a saving of 9 days.

Our Central American neighbors, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica must all have the very best passenger and cargo service, as must all of our South American neighbors. With the wonderful resources which these countries have, their products should be distributed in the world's markets and they should have sufficient ships at their disposition and at such rates that will enable them when it is necessary, to sell their products in competition with other nations. This will give them an opportunity to receive their

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share of profits which will permit them to further develop their countries.

"On the Pacific we must provide sufficient tonnage to meet Russia's requirements. That country has many products which we need. Those articles can be moved in bottoms controlled by us at fair freight rates and this will be most helpful to the expansion of Russia's trade.

"China also has many commodities which we require, and should receive the transportation necessary to move them, not only to our country, but to other countries that she may desire to sell to.

"What better use can we make of our merchant marine than to assure to these countries the best possible regular steamship service?

"That progressive nation, Japan, is rapidly upbuilding her own merchant marine, but the demand for tonnage will be so great on the Pacific that Russia, China, Australia, and other foreign possessions will receive service which they have never been able to receive before."—A wonderful dream of the commercial expansion on the sea, through the open hand of fair play, of helpfulness to all the world—of the insoluble permanency of international interest, founded upon man's right to inhabit the world, to trade with each other—to exchange each other's products in complete recognition of each other's interests—these are the dreams that are materializing in the brains of our Shipping Board—dollar a year men—who are working for Uncle Sam—for the freedom of the seas.

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

The First of the War Plays

THE Metropolitan theatre season of 1918-19 officially arrived with the warmest night of the year, and that an audience should remain in their seats for the very end of a play in spite of the perspiration, the longing for an iced-drink, or a cool bath tub, emphasizes the fact that the play was a success.

This play, " Friendly Enemies," had been a phenomenal success in the West, and on its opening night in Washington, President Wilson rose in his box and expressed to the audience and players the desire that the sentiment of the comedy they were witnessing might soon grip the entire country.

It is a war play, the first of many that are bound to be offered for the theatregoers' approval. The leading characters are both Germans, one of them of the loyal German variety, the other staunch in his belief that the United States is fighting for a democracy that has never existed in the Fatherland. They are friendly enemies, and the characterization of the authors allowed for many laughs, with a final emotional scene to grip the audience. This scene comes when the champion of the Fatherland learns that the vessel on which his boy is sailing for France has been torpedoed.

This drama is frankly popular in its appeal. Mr. Al. Woods, the producer, had his schooling in the realm of melodrama, and he knows what makes the greatest appeal in the theatre. The characters say things people want to hear, and there are outbursts of patriotic applause. The acting was excellent, and interesting, with Sam Bernhard, and Louis Mann to play the contending Germans. As the producer announces that there will be four companies of this play throughout the country this season, and that each company will be played by

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actors of merit, it would seem that there is a large fortune in store for Mr. Woods, and the theatregoers of the country are sure of one first class comedy-drama.

"Allegiance" by the Prince and Princess Pierre Troubetzkoy (The Princess is the popular Amelie Rives) is a drama of German intrigue in America, of gripping interest, perfectly acted—a classic in play-writing. The story portrays the conflict of blood—the German American torn with conflicting emotions, the call of blood and the duty of allegiance to America. It is set in our period of neutrality, and deals with the spy intrigue up to the declaration of war between the United States and Germany. If a moral is sought in a period of our national struggle, now historical, it is to point out the importance of Americanization of foreign blood citizens, particularly of the second and third generation. "Allegiance" is the Sermon on the Mount for America of the future. It is produced by Mr. William Faversham and Miss Maxine Elliott, who have joined their talents to form a theatrical producing company.

The third drama of the war is "Three Faces East," a play of the Secret Service, by Anthony Paul Kelly, who has heretofore been known for his clever motion picture scenarios.

The play gets its title "Three Faces East" from the password of a group of German spies operating in England. The answer to this password, by the way, is "Forwards and Back." As one reviewer remarked the first night, the answer is typical of the German War Office, forward and then back, the further the better.

The prologue of the play takes place in Germany and shows the start via U-boat of one "Fraulein Helene" on her mission to London, where she is to confer with the head of the "gang." From her arrival until the last moment of the play the scenes are swiftly built and carry with them the greatest suspense, the puzzled audience vainly suspecting first one character of villainy and then another. In this, his first play, Mr. Kelly has brought several screen tricks to the stage. His swift development of scenes, characteristic of the motion picture, and his character building, more by suggestion than

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by definite word or action, sometimes exasperates the audience, but never allows it to settle back and lose interest. The acting in the play is of the typical Cohan & Harris style, which is synonomous of excellence. Emmett Corrigan and Violet Heming have the two leading roles and play them with the ability which has made them popular. A Zeppelin raid, admirably produced off stage, gives a note of realism, while the last act with its infernal machine ticking out the minutes before blowing Lloyd George and the cabinet to oblivion, helps to bring to a close what is probably the most exciting war play so far offered.

Fall Laughmakers

MR AND MRS. SIDNEY DREW, most popular of the polite comedians of the screen, have in addition to their "voiceless Drew Comedies," undertaken to entertain with spoken words.

And they succeed, probably because they were skilled in stage craft before they became rich and famous in the films.

The play in which they are appearing, "Keep Her Smiling" is by John Hunter Booth, and had its inspiration in a series of stories which originally appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "Keep Her Smiling" is a comedy of business and home life. The hero is a typical "meek-clerk" husband. He has a beautiful wife and his ambition in life is to keep her smiling. This requires the paying of extravagant bills, for the lady in the case needs many expensive luxuries to help her climb the social ladder towards the goal she aspires. The reaction of these demands on the clerk husband is that he becomes suddenly involved in bold though accidental recklessness, thrust upon him by the heads of his concern, who seek to use him as a "dummy," and which thrust him into unexpected importance. The play as a whole is inconsequential but thoroughly amusing. It belongs to the type of drama that is possible but highly improbable. However, all that the majority of us are asking for from the theatre at this time is a good clean laugh,

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a romance that banishes the grim determination which surrounds us in our every-day existence.

Mr. and Mrs. Drew bring their always interesting and amusing personalities from Filmland without suffering by way of comparison. "The road," and Boston, enjoyed "Keep Her Smiling" for a good many months last season. The rest of the country is sure to be equally pleased by Mr. and Mrs. Drew in their spoken comedy.

A second comedy, this time a rank farce with a clever idea, is "She Walked in Her Sleep." The idea of the somnambulist is not exceedingly novel, but one who walks blissfully along the coping of an apartment hotel into the rooms and lives of a young married couple, and unknowingly places a flask of melinite in her ever present knitting bag, is out of the ordinary. This tube of melinite is the hope of a war contract and much of the suspense and hilarity of the farce comes from the fact that should the missing flask be broken the result would be an explosion of the most appalling order. And, of course, the missing flask causes reputations to be involved and unhappiness to reign.

Mr. Mark Swan, the author, has attained considerable reputation for his farces and this new one will add much to his credit. It is extravagant, but plausible and delicate. The players are capable though the cast contains no star names. "She Walked in Her Sleep" has much to recommend it, clever writing, good humor and interesting characterization.

A mystery play, reminiscent in so far as its appeal is concerned of "The Thirteenth Chair" is "The Blue Pearl." This play is called by the author a comedy, though it has enough thrills to warrant a more elastic classification. It is at once a mystery play and a comedy of life's realities. It concerns the disappearance of a priceless blue pearl. Suspense hangs upon the detection of the thief. The clash of women's wits, contrasts of life and love, and intrigue hold interest with a tense grasp. Find the motive of the theft and you will find the thief, but the audience is kept guessing to the last. It is fascinating, well produced, and played by a capable cast, headed by Mr. George Nash.

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The Season's Only Musical Offering

THE only new musical production of the season is the annual " Passing Show " at the Winter Garden.

Winter Garden productions of late years might be classified under two headings: those having Al. Jolson and chorus, and those which are virtually an elaborated vaudeville show —with chorus. " The Passing Show " belongs to the latter classification. The Messrs. Shubert, the producers, have gathered together a collection of the most interesting entertainers available—allowed them to do their specialties, and have filled in any pause during the evening with the collection of truly beautiful, and beautifully gowned, ladies of the chorus. There is also a spectacle, the bombing of London, which is a noisy novelty, but one that brings forth a round of enthusiastic applause because of its ingenious mechanical illusions. The construction of the new " Passing Show " is not vitally different from the construction of other " Passing Shows." It is like some well tried recipe of a favorite dish and for that reason appeals.

Apropos of the Winter Garden, the announcement that Al. Jolson and " Sinbad " are to resume the run interrupted by hot weather at the Century Theatre, makes an additional interesting chapter in the history of this notable playhouse. Built with money, supplied by American capitalists, who aimed at a national theatre, this theatre has housed almost every type of entertainment. It is so huge that the cost of upkeep is enormous and spells failure if the theatre is not filled nightly. Whether Mr. Jolson will be able to turn the tide is a question. Certainly, no American comedian has a more attractive personality than Mr. Jolson.

There are two plays in New York that have run a year, " Eyes of Youth " which has no less than three women stars (Marjorie Rambeau, Jane Grey, and now Alma Tell), to portray its leading character, and the very charming musical play, " Maytime." Billboard advertisements to the contrary, plays that run a year in one city are rare and have to be of decided quality.

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FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

WITHIN the past month another of the great National utilities—the Wire Systems of the Country, has passed under Government control. The first few weeks of operation have witnessed the continuance of some of the embarrassing clashes with union labor which were in the main responsible for the President's decision to take over the telegraph and telephone lines, and it is evident that all the problems incident to the detail of operation of these lines have not yet been fully solved.

In his proclamation the President intimates that the Government will take the responsibility for the payment of fixed charges and the continuation of regular dividends, and the latter will of course be of most interest to investing stockholders, of whom it is said there are two hundred thousand in the United States.

Operation of the wire system should be a much easier and more simple matter than that of the railroads, and the financial problem insignificant by comparison. There is no immediate necessity either for expensive additions to equipment or for radical changes in personnel.

The total capitalization of the wire communication companies in the United States is a little under one billion dollars, of which nearly ninety-five per cent is represented by the three major companies, the American Telegraph and Telephone Co., Western Union Telegraph Co., and the Postal Telegraph and affiliated Mackay companies. Over seventy per cent of the total capitalization, to be exact, $717,486,200, is credited to the American Telegraph and Telephone Co., while the Western Union has thirteen per cent, and the Mackay companies nine per cent.

The American Telegraph and Telephone Co. has capital stock outstanding in the aggregate of $442,186,200 in addition to $227,554,000 in bonds; $7,745,000 in bonds of sub-

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sidiary companies and $40,000,000 in notes of subsidiary companies indorsed by the parent company. Of these obligations $40,000,000 notes and $45,000,000 bonds, partly for refunding purposes, have been put out during the current year. The Western Union Telegraph Co. has outstanding just a little under $100,000,000 of capital stock and $31,994,000 of bonds.

The Mackay Companies, which also operate the trans-Atlantic cables, is an associated holding company owning the capital stock of more than one hundred subsidiary companies. For the present the Government will not take over the cables, and thus it is probable that the Postal Telegraph Co., operating only the land wires, will become divorced from the general group of Mackay Companies.

The net operating income for the years 1915-1916 and 1917 was as follows: American Telegraph and Telephone $44,933,776, Western Union $12,534,326, and the Mackay Companies, including cable service, $4,425,324. A few months ago the directors of the Western Union Company placed the stock upon a regular basis of 7 per cent per annum. In 1917 dividends were paid at the rate of 5¾ per cent regular, and 1 per cent extra, and in 1916 of 6 per cent per annum, while earlier than that the rate had been only 4¼ per cent. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has paid 8 per cent per annum on its stock for ten years. The Mackay Companies pays 4 per cent on its $50,000,000 of cumulative preferred stock, and 6 per cent per annum on its $41,380,400 of common.

Indictments have just been returned against the Western Union Co. for delivery of "Night telegrams" by mail and messenger, and it will be interesting, in view of Government operation, to follow developments in this important case.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

IT is now practically settled that the fourth Liberty Loan will be in the aggregate of from five to six billion dollars, and the interest rate 4¼ per cent. The campaign will be

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short and vigorous, opening September 28th and closing October 19th.

There is a disposition in certain quarters to wonder why the Secretary of the Treasury has not made use of the sinking fund provision of the third Liberty Loan in order to purchase many of these bonds now on the market at nearly five points below par. It is argued that the best possible incentive for the purchase of a new loan at par would be a par price for existing issues in the competitive market. Secretary McAdoo is doubtless relying upon the higher incentives of patriotism and humanitarianism to insure a full and complete subscription and over-subscription to the loan, no matter how large it may be.

Prior to the issue of the third Liberty Loan there was a general impression that the interest rate would be raised to 4½ per cent, but happily this forecast was a mistake. It is needless to say that if the Liberty bond interest rates were continually advanced, all other securities in the market would be advanced correspondingly, and this would mean a general rise of the interest rate on all loans throughout the country. Certainly the Government should do nothing which will cause this sequel, which would produce a serious disturbance in the money market and be more upsetting than almost anything which has occurred during the last three years. It is gratifying to note that Secretary McAdoo is disposed to take a conservative policy and to avoid any procedure which may have an unsettling effect.

At this time public feeling is highly susceptible, and it is essential to refrain from taking any measures which may invite nervousness in business circles. It is quite needless to comment on the unwisdom of inviting a general advance in the rate of interest on all semi-public and private securities as well as general loans. The American investor, in loaning to his Government, must look beyond the selfish consideration of the immediate return on his investment, and enter into a co-operative pooling of his resources with all other investors in order to accomplish the object for which this country took up arms and sent her soldiers across the ocean.

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INVESTMENT SITUATION

NOTWITHSTANDING the heavy drain on the money market for war and general domestic purposes, all the recent issues of corporate securities offered investors by the banking syndicates have been absorbed with apparent ease. It has been conservatively figured that since the middle of May nearly $500,000,000 in new corporate securities have been sold to American investors made up as follows: $287,000,000 in short term notes, $155,000,000 in bonds and $68,000,000 in new capital stock issues.

This heavy corporation financing, coming simultaneously with the enormous demands of the Government on American capital, is the explanation of the decline in market price of securities purchased a year or two ago, although their intrinsic value as measured by dividend capacity has increased in the same period. Up to the time the United States entered the war money was plentiful and interest rates comparatively low, and prices paid for securities were justified by general economic conditions. Today the situation is very different, and borrowers must bid high for new capital or loans.

Many investors who have not given due consideration to these facts have been unable to comprehend why their high-grade investments have declined in market value, and some may have become alarmed for the safety of their investments. It may be said that in practically every instance their investments, from the standpoint of safety, both of principal and interest or dividends, are materially safer today than they were two years ago. Earnings applicable to the payment of dividends or interest are materially larger and give evidence, with almost every industrial operation, of remaining so. Corporations have invested immense sums from earnings in their properties, thus adding to the actual values back of their securities, but economic laws must and will rule, and investors will not purchase corporation securities at low yields, no matter how good, when they may secure equally as good investments at much higher yields.

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STOCK MARKET

THE brilliant military successes of the Allies have failed to stimulate the Stock Exchange to anything approaching normal activity or to start a boom in prices in any of the active stocks. While there is no doubt in the big speculative district over the outcome of the conflict now being waged on French soil, Wall Street recognizes the fact that the financial and economic problems connected with the successful operation of our Army and Navy will be tremendous and rightly gives first consideration to them.

Little recognition is given by the average investor, in normal times, to the important functions performed by the banking institutions in the financing of stock transactions now that the bank resources are diverted to other channels, it is obvious that speculative transactions must of necessity be curtailed. Wall Street, while recognizing that there is a considerable volume of stock purchasing for investment—for the "strong box," is equally convinced that "for the duration of the war," bull markets will be few and far between.

Another point to consider in the matter of stock speculation is the loaning rate on "call" money. Since the first of this year the rates for call loans have rarely gone below 6 per cent, compared with pre-war normal rates of from 1½ to 2¾ per cent.

FINANCING THE COTTON CROP

MORE banks in this section will play a part in the handling of this season's unprecedented cotton crop than ever before, as the outcome of a series of meetings of the special committee of bankers, spinners and shippers, headed by ex-Senator Theodore E. Burton, president of the Merchants National Bank of New York, which was appointed at the joint convention here some time ago of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and the American Cotton Manufacturing Association.

This committee indorsed the employment of bank and

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bankers' acceptances as far as practicable in the financing of this year's enormous cotton crop. From an authoritative source it is learned that the program calling for the organization of a Cotton Acceptance Corporation will be carried out next month when articles of incorporation will be filed in Albany for new enterprises with an authorized capital stock of $5,000,000.

Preparations are now being made for a freer use of cotton acceptances and it will only be four or five weeks, according to bankers, when they will be offered in large volume.

OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, JR.

By LEWIS ALLEN

WHAT goes up as excess profit comes down as war tax. Now comes the struggle to determine in Who's Zoo the Russian Bear shall be trained.

Rumor has it that St. Peter has had to put a "Verboten" sign on the Pearly Gates.

A soldier wears a wrist watch to see what time it is. A woman wears one to see how late she is.

A lot of married men enlisted in order not to have to work *and* fight.

The partnership between "Me und Gott" seems to have been dissolved.

Uncle Sam wants not only water-proof but graft-proof raincoats.

It takes all kinds of people to make up the world, including patriots and those who try to picket the White House.

While our dollar-a-day men "Over there" are striking for Victory our dollar-an-hour men over here are striking for shorter hours and longer "green."

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The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

Battle of American Politics

THE intense undercurrent in this year's political encounter may account in a measure for some of the "markings off" by agreement between both of the parties. In many districts where the lead of one party is overwhelming the opposition party is standing aside and making no contest. Of course, there is much sincerity in these mergings ostensibly on behalf of the conservation of patriotism, but it is a physical fact that much force and energy saved at one point may be employed at another. And without detracting from the high purpose behind the mergers aimed at eliminating objectionables of other parties, it is not amiss to surmise that the two big parties would like to free their heels of dogging by smaller political aggregations.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the result of the immediate issue, the election of the next Congress. There are more than 150 Congressional districts rated by both parties as "uncertain" and which constitute legitimate fighting ground. These are now represented about equally between Democrats and Republicans. And there is some question as to which of the parties actually lead in the House of Representatives, though the Democrats control the organization.

The Senate is probably still more problematical. During the past year the hand of death has threatened the political status quo. While ordinarily only one-third of the Senate would be chosen in November, "unexpired terms" have accumulated until nearly one-half of the Senate seats are involved in the next election. The Democratic lead has been reduced until it is now only three above a clear majority, which means that if the Republicans should hold their own and

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defeat four Democratic Senators they would practically control the Upper House. The probability is that they will supplant that many Democratic Senators, for the geography of the situation is favorable to them. Most of the Democratic Senators who "slipped in" because of the split in 1912, are up for election this year, notably ones from such strong Republican States as Illinois, Kansas and New Hampshire. The Senate is really more uncertain than the House, for the situation there is such that the Democrats probably must supplant several Senators now Republican with Democrats in order to continue in control of that body.

And the Senate, with its treaty-making power and its growing dominancy in the matter of legislation, is going to be the object of a harder fight than will be the House of Representatives. Furthermore, the party which wins control of the Senate this year is apt to retain it for four years as few of the expirations in 1921 will be in "doubtful" states.

The Congressional Fight

THE Democrats have three advantages in this year's campaign. The first and foremost is possession. The second is the party's identity with carrying on the war, and the third is President Wilson, an asset to the party such as it has had certainly not since Tilden and probably not since Andrew Jackson.

While the President coined the phrase "Politics is adjourned," and sponsored the Senatorial candidacy of Henry Ford, a Republican, and has advised against contesting the seats of some Republicans who are in, it is no secret that Woodrow Wilson considers himself a partisan Democrat whose interest in the future of his party has not been lessened by the stress of war. The war has not driven from his mind the ideals he identifies with democracy or the cleavage as he sees it betwen the Republican and the Democratic viewpoint as to domestic issues.

The Republicans are in no mean position with reference to the Congressional campaign. They point to a record of war support which is not inferior to that of the Democrats

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as a party. In fact, many of the most energetic opponents of administration war measures have been Democratic Senators, who have provided the Republicans with arguments that are difficult to answer.

Every campaign meeting no matter in which party interest it is held will partake in outward character a war rally.

The campaign should and on the whole shall serve as a great patriotic stimulant and whatever bearings the result may have on the future, the immediate effect will be to arouse interest in and enthusiasm for the war.

Restrictions of the Uniform

THE romance of the uniform is not new. It has merely been transferred from pages of fiction to daily life. The supreme ideals of manhood that it represents are indisputable. It is the symbol of chivalry, daring, adventure, honor, heroism, authority and power. It represents the heroic qualities of all romance that has ever been written. The American khaki is the least spectacular, oblivious to outward splendor. It is, for that reason, the highest representation of fighting men. Nor can we find fault with the eager admiration which it inspires. The influence of women has always been the sustaining force of virtue. Few women are without a service symbol of some sort, and every man in uniform typifies the brother, the husband, the sweetheart at the front. But, this high-spirited devotion to the uniform requires some difficult restrictions. Young women do not always stop to measure the man in the uniform. His furlough is subject, of course, to the discipline of his service, and there is no doubt that it has stabilized the gyroscopic standards of his previous ideas of life. Still, these young women, girls in their teens, pairs, should be warned that promiscuous flirtations with men in uniform is not a desirable form of service.

Where the Liberty Loans Go

WITH the Government preparing to float a Fourth Liberty Loan, the natural question arises, "Where do these huge sums go?"

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Everybody knows the answer, "To pay the expenses of the war. The war is costing the United States $18,000,000,000 a year, $50,000,000 a day, or say $2,000,000 an hour, say $33,000 a minute, $555 a second.

It is pretty hard to understand spending at this rate. We can comprehend the figures but the only way we can get any idea of what the money is spent for is to examine some few of the thousand and one huge costs.

This is probably a better way than attempting to give a more or less itemized statement of these expenditures, even if such a statement could be printed without giving the enemy information of the war plans of the Government. We would be getting into big figures again. Instead of that, let us take some of the individual costs and consider them on the basis of an army of 2,000,000 men in France.

It costs the Government $4.93 on the average for every man inducted into the army through the operations of the Selective Service Law. Even with the first army in France, this cost goes on all the time as more men are added at the rate of at least 1,000,000 a year. Think of it, $4,930,000 just for the clerical and other work in adding every 1,000,000 men to the army.

The sixteen cantonments in which these men are trained cost more than $141,000,000 to build. Their maintenance charges alone cost a fair ten per cent of this amount, without taking into consideration the cost of maintaining the men and training them.

Every man had to be supplied with a full outfit of clothes. This included 1 coat, 2 pairs of breeches, 1 hat or cap, 2 pairs of shoes, 3 suits of underwear, 5 pairs of socks, 1 pair of leggins, 2 flannel shirts, 1 pair of gloves, and 1 overcoat. In addition there were all the little incidentals, such as collar badges, identification tags, etc. This original outfit costs approximately $55, more than one small Liberty Bond. For the army of 2,000,000 men it means a first cost for clothing of $110,000,000.

But this is only the start. Different clothes have to be provided for different seasons; worn out clothes must be re-

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placed. It has been figured that the whole outfit must be renewed two or three times a year for men in active service. Shoes are even worse. Each pair costs $5.10. Nine or ten pairs are required a year for each man whose time is spent in hard hiking or fighting on rough ground or in the water-soaked trenches that rot the shoe leather.

The other equipment of the individual soldier is even more expensive. His rifle alone costs $19.50. The bayonet with its scabbard costs $3.28. These two items for the army of 2,000,000 mean an expenditure of $45,560,000. Just as with clothes it is merely a first cost. Rifles wear out, are broken, and must be replaced. The army authorities declare they must have extra rifles in a proportion that would provide five rifles for each man each year.

Every man must have blankets, a shelter tent, a mess kit, a haversack, a cartridge belt, a pack carrier, a canteen and half a dozen other incidentals that add another $50 to the cost of his equipment. Then, more important still, every man at the front must have a steel trench helmet, which costs $3, and a gas mask, which costs $12.

Three Fifty-Dollar Liberty Bonds to a Man

TAKEN altogether, this means an expenditure for clothing and equipment for each individual soldier of something more than the proceeds of three fifty-dollar Liberty Bonds.

It costs forty-one cents a day to feed each man in the army. This figure fluctuates with market changes but is the present allowance for each man. That means it costs $149.65, or approximately the price of three fifty-dollar Liberty Bonds, to feed each man for a year. To feed the army of 2,000,000 costs $300,000,000 a year.

Perhaps the cost of equipping a single division gives the idea in a little better form. The division is the chief big army unit. It is made up of all arms of the service and includes between 20,000 and 27,000 men. With the special equipment required in these various arms of the service it has been figured out that it costs just $4,387,880 for the initial equip-

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ment for a division. This sum does not cover the upkeep nor the renewal of equipment, nor any of the expenses of training and feeding the unit.

To feed the division during a year, either in training or in service, requires $3,577,000 or a sum equivalent to that raised for Uncle Sam by the sale of one fifty-dollar Liberty Bond to each of 71,540 citizens.

Of the equipment cost of $4,387,880, one of the biggest items is the clothing, $2,835,360; $1,326,080 goes for fighting equipment, and the very respectable sum of $216,440 goes for mess kits and kitchen equipment.

Separating these costs of a single division into items, we find that each of the more striking items is a big sum in itself. For instance:

It costs $525,000 to provide blankets for the men.

It costs $285,600 to provide them with the shoes they need at the outset of their military service.

It costs $42,000 to give them the socks they must have.

It costs $560 for the identification tags the Government provides to keep track of the men through the eventualities of battle.

It costs $417,000 for the overcoats for a division.

It costs $82,600 to provide the shelter tents.

For the rifles alone, $546,000 must be spent, and at the rate of $5 per 100 for cartridges, it takes $140,000 to provide them with one belt full each.

Steel helmets and gas masks add another $500,000 to the cost.

Then there is the question of pay. Each private gets $30 a month. The non-commissioned officers, corporals sergeants, etc., get proportionately more, and the officers get from $1,800, the pay of a second lieutenant to $11,000, the pay of a full general. Averaging this for the whole army, statisticians have learned it costs $480 a year for each man of the 2,000,000. This means $960,000,000, or very nearly a full billion dollars for pay alone.

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$2,040 a Year for Each Soldier in France

ALL of which makes the American soldier a mighty expensive individual. In fact one high military authority has figured that it costs $2,040 a year for every soldier we have in France. Multiply that by 2,000,000 and you get $4,080,000,000, or two-thirds of the amount asked in this Fourth Liberty Loan.

But these are only the preliminary expenses for the army. It is merely the cost of putting them in France and keeping them there without doing any fighting. The mere cost of transporting them to France, $120 for every man, is a slight indication of the expenses of the sea service that must be maintained to carry them. It is not a very good indication, for in that figure of $120 per man is included the cost of their railroad transportation on this side. Perhaps a few transport and navy figures will give a better idea of the cost of keeping the road to France open.

Transports cost anywhere from $1,500,000 to $10,000,000 and more. At the start of the war the United States had almost no ships suitable for transports. They had to be bought and built. Even the 112 vessels seized from the Germans and the Austrians had to be remodeled and repaired at great expense before they were available for service.

Today we have over 150 shipyards at work on other ships to serve as transports and supply vessels. Freighters, oil tankers and a dozen and one other kinds of ships have to be built to carry overseas the food, ammunition and supplies for the army. The United States had to start creating this fleet by building the shipyards themselves. Then it had to build the ships, equip them and man them, and now it must maintain them in service.

All of these ships would be helpless without the navy to protect them from the U-boats. Some time ago it was announced there were more than 250 United States naval vessels of all types on the other side. In addition, there are the great numbers used in convoying and patrolling back and forth across the ocean and the great net of coast patrol vessels it is necessary to maintain on this side.

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For obvious reasons, no figures are being given out as to the exact number of naval vessels in commission. The same thing applies to the number being built. It is an open secret, however, that since the war began, more than 1,000 ships for war purposes have been built. In addition something over 800 ships were converted from pleasure yachts, liners, etc., into war ships.

What the Navy Costs

THE personnel of our naval forces has been increased many hundred per cent since the war began. There are now more than 400,000 men on the navy roster.

Just as an indication of some of the navy costs let us give a few ship costs:

Battleships of the latest type cost $23,075,000 each; battle cruisers cost $24,900,000; destroyers, the chief foe of the U-boat and the type of craft used in greatest number, cost $1,590,000 each. Submarines cost as much.

Every torpedo fired by a destroyer or a submarine costs from $5,000 to $10,000, depending on the size used.

Guns cost all the way from $15,000 for the three-inch type to $256,000 for the great sixteen-inch guns. Remember that each battleship has ten or twelve of the largest guns, either fourteen or sixteen-inch. The six-inch guns, the type with which most vessels are armed as a defense against U-boats cost $40,000 each. These gun costs make a pretty item when it is remembered that the Government has had to arm more than 12,000 vessels of all kinds for various purposes.

Ammunition for these guns costs all the way from $3 each for the little three-inch shells to $580 each for the armor-piercing guns of the great dreadnoughts.

The navy, with its 400,000 men has the same proportionate equipment and food costs to consider as the army has. It costs approximately $100 for the full clothing outfit for each sailor. The cost of food per man ranges from forty-nine cents a day on the larger ships where it is prepared in great quan-

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tities, to fifty-two cents a day on the smaller ships where they cannot be so economical.

Well, suppose after spending all this money, we have landed our army of 2,000,000 men in France. They must be supplied with artillery and ammunition, food and supplies of all sorts. These supplies must be transported from the base ports to the front. It has been necessary for the United States to build great ports with huge warehouses and to construct hundreds of miles of railroads. The rolling stock for these railroads had to be supplied from this country. More than 2,200 freight cars and nearly 1,600 locomotives have already been sent over.

In addition to this type of transport thousands of motor trucks of all sizes and capacities had to be provided. Most of these trucks are the larger sizes, from 2 to 5 tons in capacity. The average cost of these machines is $5,000. In addition there had to be several thousand motor cycles and passenger automobiles for messengers, officers, etc.

Another item in transportation was horse and mule drawn wagons. Draught horses, horses for the artillery and cavalry and mules for the transport and the pack trains cost on the average of $200 each. Each division requires about 4,000 horses and mules for various purposes. This number is varied to some extent by the number of motor vehicles supplied and by the proportion of artillery and cavalry units allowed the division, but it can be seen that a huge army of animals is needed. And every one of them must be fed mostly on grains and forage shipped from America.

What Ammunition Costs

THEN before the army can go into action it must be provided with artillery of all sorts, ranging from the machine guns and the light field pieces to the huge howitzers. Machine guns are of various types, but the one most in use costs approximately $500. A light field gun of the 75 mm. type costs about $3,000. Each one must be provided with caissons and ammunition wagons and either a team of six horses costing $1,200 or a tractor costing $4,000 or more.

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The tractors are used for the heavier guns. These big guns cost as much as $100,000 each for the great ten-inch and twelve-inch types that are used for long range work.

Ammunition of all kinds from rifle ammunition to heavy shell costs in proportion to its size and is one of the greatest expenses of all. Rifle cartridges, the .30 caliber Springfield used in the United States army rifles, cost five cents each in this country. By the time the freight for delivering them in France and carrying them to the front has been paid they cost fifteen cents each. Each infantry soldier must have 200 of them at all times. This means an initial cost of $400,000,000 for the army. In battle they can be fired from the regular rifle at the rate of twenty or more a minute, so a man must have his original supply of 200 replenished many times when he is in active service.

Machine guns use the same cartridges as rifles but they shoot much faster. The newest types, such as the Browning adopted by the United States, fire 650 shots a minute. This means $97.50 every time an ambitious gunner cuts loose for sixty seconds.

Shell is of so many different sizes, from the new 37 mm. anti-tank size (1½ inch), to the great sixteen-inch howitzers and of so many types, shrapnel, high explosive, gas, incendiary, etc., that it is difficult to give an idea of its cost without giving interminable lists of figures. But perhaps an idea of the cost of the shell used in a barrage may be gained from the claim made by the German High Command, that in the battle of the Somme in 1916 they used up $1,800,000,000 worth of ammunition.

Then there are the airplanes, costing from $7,000 to $10,000 and more each. There must be thousands of them, fully equipped with machine guns, bombs, etc. Tanks are another costly piece of war apparatus. There are several types of them in use. One type is small, carrying only two or three men. The other type is the huge, ungainly monster that crushes its way through all opposition and smashes the obstacles it cannot surmount. Each of these big tanks cost, from $25,000 up.

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There are thousands of other things that must be provided for the winning of the war, some of them as familiar as hospital supplies, which everyone knows are expensive, and some of them for the present still military secrets. But anyone who has given thought to these costs set forth can well understand some of the things for which the Liberty Loan money is spent. It is easy to see that the Liberty Loans and all the other money go for many things but that all in all they go to purchase victory.

Secretary Daniels Talks of The Submarine Menace

WE have the sea serpent with us this summer. He is not of the circus variety, but, according to Secretary Daniels, belongs to the rattlesnake family, seeking to hit where he can strike. At present he aims, according to Secretary Daniels, in an informal talk with The FORUM's editor, to menace our coal shipments to New England, and threaten our coal supply to the great war industries. Said Mr. Daniels: "The German U-boats lay along our shipping lanes and around Hampton Roads where there are many ships entering and leaving every day. As yet they have done no military damage, but like rattlesnakes, they may make a hit at any time, despite our numerous chasers, torpedo destroyers, and air craft on the lookout."

It has repeatedly been circulated that the Huns have supply stations in our waters. Commenting upon this, Mr. Daniels says: "It is not known that the German U-boats in our waters have any coast supply stations, but it is known that they have transferred supplies to each other. We do not know the identity of these boats, nor how many there are, but Germany is using them to strike wherever she can. One Commander has said that he would stay in these waters six months. Our ports and sea lanes are guarded by destroyers and chasers and we are doing everything possible to protect all kinds of shipping. The all important thing is to protect ships carrying soldiers and war supplies. This is the most important work we have to do. They may get a big ship some time, but they haven't yet!"

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That the Navy is after these artful dodgers of our sea lanes, and will probably get them, in our waters, as it has abroad, is not a boast, but a presumable probability, and at no distant date. Mr. Ford's "Eagles" will soon be heard from. Of these submarine chasers, Mr. Daniels said: "The ship is considered by competent engineers a success. They will be tried out upon the Great Lakes and promise to be so successful that another Government has already placed orders for a number of them. They will help. They are a cross between the destroyer and the small chasers and are expected to be very seaworthy crafts. When the destroyers were built it was thought that they would not stand up against heavy seas; when the chasers were built they were not intended for heavy sea work, but they have stood the test. The Eagles can be turned out in large numbers when the output gets under way, as all the plans are arranged for quantity production. Our yards are working to full capacity on destroyers, and the Eagles will be of great aid in submarine warfare, effective in harbor and river work, sea coast patrol."

We still have another type for submarine detection, and capable of doing them mortal injury, the Curtiss Flying Boat. These "sea hawks" have been heard from abroad. Of them, Secretary Daniels said: "Our sea planes, flying boats, are doing efficient work abroad. They have to their credit excellent records in aerial patrol and submarine detections."

Still, we are uneasy, but not so uneasy as to be apprehensive. The supreme confidence of the public is with our able Secretary of the Navy. He has put the American Navy on the map; he will put German frightfulness off the seas.

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The FORUM'S Policy, Constructive Nationalism

TO WIN THE WAR

What is Constructive Nationalism?

Constructive business, industry, organizations—that look to a permanent betterment of our social and organic life as a democratic people.

National unity, solidarity, in common aims of the whole people, politically, socially, educationally, and fundamentally, as one people, one flag, one language, one loyalty.

It is the desire of The FORUM to open its pages to the thought of the best constructive thinkers in our country, that their thought may be the seeds or the stimulating means of a definite, substantial nationalism; aligning its aims and policies with the forces to win the war.

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